

The Many Faces of Rob Ford: The Representation of Politician Deviance, Dishonesty and Denial

by

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Abstract

The discourse surrounding recent Canadian politics has involved the misbehaviour of Toronto's former mayor, Rob Ford. Much of the information the public received about the antics of Ford is derived from media representations. The current inquiry sought to understand the treatment of Ford by the media to explore the messages the public receives regarding politician deviance. This was established through the creation of a 45 event timeline and a content analysis of the articles in the newspaper, *Toronto Star* that discussed each of the timeline events. The findings suggest that the journalists frame Ford as being incompetent most of the time, corrupt some of the time and a street level criminal occasionally. These frames are created through media narratives and strengthened through the inclusion of apparent perceptions of important community stakeholders.

Key words: Rob Ford, corruption, incompetency, dishonesty, political scandal, media representations, guilty mind

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Power and corruption are engrained within the economic, social and political systems of Canadian society (Johnson, 2008). Members of society can express their frustrations or approvals of the powerful and power relations through the use of discourse. This is particularly so when perceptions of power include the consideration of corruption, scandal and politics. Through the discussion of politician deviance, many institutions, groups and individuals (e.g. the media, the government and the corrupt individual) confront issues and project their opinions onto others with the intent to influence. The media holds a significant amount of power over public opinion and the construction of social reality (Chermak, 1997). The power held by the media has grown exponentially in contemporary society as a result of the Internet (Castells, 2009). The media is able to rapidly spread information through the use of the Internet to individuals around the globe who are increasingly gaining access to the web.

Political scandal is associated with the complex relationship between power, corruption and discursive influence in the present Canadian context. This is especially prominent when Ontario's political and financial capital city, Toronto, is put under scrutiny. Former Toronto Mayor, Rob Ford, who was elected into position in 2010, has been associated with numerous reoccurring scandals. Ford's continuous involvement in scandal has resulted in Ford and his family to be in the center of a media frenzy. The repetitive nature of the scandals and Ford's political dishonour allowed Ford to be well publicized as a tragic hero (Ogata, Couto & Greene, 2014). The discourse surrounding the behaviour of this local power must be taken into consideration and the assigned

frames carefully examined to determine if the scandals are constructed as a result of Ford being corrupt, incompetent or an entirely different frame.

There are very few studies that explore media representations of corruption and political scandal. Thus, the current inquiry is dedicated to taking a grounded approach to understand the media's treatment of Ford and answering the following questions: How does the media construct elite deviance? Are the implications produced by the media surrounding political scandal reflective of corruption or incompetence? How does the media strengthen and legitimize their constructions of political deviance and scandals? How is the involvement of an individual of status and power in criminal activities typically associated with upper, middle and lower-class citizens represented by the media? How does Ford behaviour in the white collar crime context reshape the definition?

The objectives of the current inquiry will be achieved through the use of a qualitative case study on the representation of the scandals with which Rob Ford has been associated. The literature review will discuss previous research and theories related to media discourse, corruption and the media's influence on the public. The current inquiry is then contextualized in the succeeding chapter by considering the flaws and gaps of previous literature and research studies. The following chapter outlines the methodological approach taken to complete the inquiry. A content analysis will be conducted of online news reports that consider crime, corruption and political scandal related to Toronto's former mayor from the popular Canadian newspaper, the *Toronto Star*. The content analysis will be used as a means to explore the media's perceptions of corruption, how the media portrays events as scandals and the ways in which the media

strengthens their projections. The inquiry will take an exploratory approach to examine the media messages that exist implicitly and explicitly regarding the social construction of reality. The findings and discussion sections will examine the discourse surrounding deviance by a political figure and the power relationships that surface in the process of socially constructing scandal and the defining of moral order.

The remainder of the discussion and the final chapter concludes the inquiry and explains the current inquiry's contribution to academia and makes suggestions for researchers interested in studying the framing of political scandals by the media. By looking at the trends in discourse and some of the factors that can influence public opinion, the current inquiry can contribute to the newly emerging paradigm of public criminology. Public criminologists attempt to integrate academic findings into public discourses about crime as an attempt to clarify the line that has become blurred between fact and fiction regarding socially relevant phenomenon (Chancer & McLaughlin, 2007). It is necessary for criminologists to examine the media's manipulation of discourse in order to demystify the phenomenon of political crimes and actors. Through this process, the current inquiry also aims to be an example for prospective researchers interested in the concept of power in relation to politics, corruption and the role of the media.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The current review will explore research and theory that exists in a variety of facets of contemporary thought. This will assist in familiarizing readers with the major concepts and themes explored in the current inquiry. These themes include media discourses, media and public opinion, and corruption. The review will illustrate that these concepts and phenomena do not exist independently of one another, but are interconnected.

Media Discourses

The important concepts of the current inquiry do not have consistent definitions and meanings across the scholarly literature. Andvig, Fjeldstad, Amundsen, Sissner, and Soreide (2000) explain that the study of corruption can be considered a multi-disciplinary task. Corruption has been studied as a problem of the political, economic, cultural and moral systems of both singular and universal events. Corruption is multi-faceted with numerous causes and effects, definitions, functions and has been considered by various theoretical and empirical perspectives. The current inquiry is situated within and guided by the social constructivist paradigm. This paradigm asserts that reality is created over time and phenomena is constructed through social interaction (Holstein & Gubrium, 2011). The individuals who made up a particular social group, and their role within the group's historical and current social order, significantly impacts the meanings assigned to objects, discourse, phenomenon and the way the world is understood.

The social constructivist paradigm allows the current inquiry to better appreciate the discourse that surrounds power and corruption as the concepts are constantly changing and open to human interpretation. The interpretation of power and corruption

exists on micro and macro levels, thus directing definitions and perspectives on the appropriate possessor and use (Breit, 2011; Castells, 2009; Lukes, 2007). To better understand the paradigm and the current review's emphasis on the differences in interpretations and shifts of meaning over time, the work of philosopher, Michel Foucault, should be considered.

Foucault (1972) conceptualizes discourse as a complicated relationship between power, knowledge and social practice. Discourse does not suddenly appear and is not universally accepted. Concepts and phenomenon are constantly emerging and evolving over time and are dependent on current and historical social contexts. This shift reveals the presence of power relationships within discourse as there are rules created to enable some and suppress others from having access to knowledge. Those who are in power have the ability to influence the direction of thought and the facilitation of rules that regulate practices of knowledge and understanding (Foucault, 1971). The powerful may use language in a way that marginalizes some members of society, while reinforcing their position of dominance. However, Foucault (1971) explains that power, control, and rules, too, shift over time. Those who previously occupied silenced positions within society may find their voices being heard and can utilize discourse to gain newfound power. These trends do not appear in a neat and chronological order, but consist of overlap and fluctuation. Currently, the media is in a position where their voices are heard and can reach consumers around the world.

The media has the ability to relay information simultaneously to audiences across the span of the globe. Media representatives are no longer restricted by geographical boundaries due to the rise of the information age and globalization. This can be quite

dangerous as the media does not always objectively and accurately relay information to their consumers (Chermak, 1997). Many media outlets operate on the premise that the information they are providing to their consumers must be considered newsworthy enough to maintain and attract new prospects, rather than accurate (Sacco, 1995). Media representatives often use framing or social construction as a tool to make aspects of perceived reality appear to be more salient through the promotion of a particular problem definition. This allows the media to offer an interpretation of the situation, provide a moral evaluation and propose a recommendation for the problem (Entman, 1993). In this effort, the media often relies on stereotypes and the over representation of the hated other in their constructions (Dixon & Linz, 2000). The use of framing by many news media outlets, which is the careful selection of language and the selective reporting of details, is a tool for accomplishing their motives. This allows for the overemphasis of some details and the exclusion of others to elicit unnecessary emotional reactions and ultimately influence viewer construction of reality (Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007).

Each global citizen does not have the ability to experience every phenomenon existing in the world. There is a heavy reliance on the media as a source of information to maintain an awareness of local and global events and issues. The information presented by the media to voters and policy makers has the ability to influence decision making processes (Lippmann, 1922). There is an abundance of information present in the face an event or phenomenon (Sieff, 2003). In order to understand the globe and make sense of phenomena, consumers create personal frames that are often reflective of the media's representations (Ryan, 2004). The intentions behind media representations of information

and media presentation of information to the public has shifted in the current social context.

Media and Public Opinion

Dowler, Fleming, and Muzzatti (2006) explain that the use of crime information by the media has transformed drastically in contemporary society. Crime information is not solely used for the construction of news stories, but also for entertainment. As crime becomes sensationalized in news and entertainment media, the line between reality and fiction becomes blurred (Dowler et al., 2006). The romanticizing of crime can be viewed through the response of the media and the public regarding the deviant actions committed by those who occupy powerful positions within society. When an event happens, it is not immediately classified as a scandal. Ehrat (2011) explains that the event and the media reaction begin as just a crime event and a news report. However, the careful selection of discourse and information surrounding the event by the media allows the construction of the event to be subsequently interpreted by consumers as a scandal.

The public has developed a great interest in media portrayals of white collar crimes as scandals (Ehrat, 2022). Levi (2006) argues that white collar crimes and financial crimes become treated by the mass media as ‘infotainment.’ The reporting of the event becomes similar to the reporting of an event in a tabloid magazine, where consumers are attracted to the entertainment value of the story, rather than the accuracy of the news information. This is present in the extensive news coverage of events classified as scandals and the construction of corporate celebrities as being in trouble because of struggles with drugs, gambling or sex; a connection with organized crime or terrorism; and causing incompetency of the business, regulatory and criminal justice

establishments (Levi, 2006). White collar crime is not considered an ordinary type of crime that the average citizen has the ability to commit (Benson, 1985).

Frauds and white collar crimes are not typically singular happenings and consist of a series of crimes that occur over a span of time (Levi, 2006). Due to the complex nature of white collar crimes, a considerable amount of time is taken by the criminal justice process to investigate, prosecute and appeal. The lengthy procedure often allows for cultural, structural and personal influences to be integrated into the reconstructed and dramatized reality that transforms into a grand story. The longevity of the frames that exist within the constructions rely on the inclusion of new elements, such as the unfolding of a story line (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), while also maintaining repetitive images of the offender (Goffman, 1968). At times, these frames are strengthened by the vivid accounts of less credible sources (Seiff, 2003). The grand story often becomes a distorted representation of the virtues of the elite and the realities of society throughout its progression.

The media's ability to significantly impact the construction of reality often leads societal institutions to engage in political battles to influence the media (Husselbee & Rliot, 2002; Gurevitch & Levy, 1985). This allows those who are powerful enough to influence the media to maintain their power and influence the public discourse. The creation of fear within society and the emergence of a moral panic provides legislation and political actors the opportunity to gain support. The actions taken by the state may be inhumane and infringe upon the rights of groups within society. However, they are often re-constructed by those in a position of power to allow the public to perceive them as non-criminal (Altheide, 2006). Barak (1988) recommends that public criminologists use

mass communications as means to re-construct the false images of crime and justice to be more reflective of reality.

Barak (1988) posits that researchers and criminologists should commandeer control of the media in order to educate the public on the realities of crime and justice. In this process, researchers and criminologists should direct public and policy maker attention towards real issues, such as the racialization of prisons (Barak, 1988) and mass incarceration (Loader & Sparks, 2010). Barak's (1988) recommendations are not perceived as an accomplishable task by Haan and Loader (2002) as the techniques used will require deep and intimate knowledge of the workings of the media. Haan and Loader (2002) instead suggest that researchers attempt to create a better understanding of the relationship between crime, social control and human emotions.

The media and corruption, globally and locally, have a close relationship. One association between the media and corruption is the media's ability to influence corruption discourse. As discussed earlier, the media shapes imagery of corruption to be a grand and entertaining story to maintain and gain consumers (Levy, 2006). The media also attempts to battle corruption as a way to restore the moral order of society and confirm media morality. Vaidya (2005) explains that media representatives perceive the media as providing the citizens with proper governance by making the government accountable for their actions. The news media projects this identity onto the public by using reasoning devices to inform the public on how to perceive an event and resolve an issue. This is accomplished by describing root causes, consequences and appealing to principle and morality (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The government is aware of the power the media has to influence public discourse and understand that media scrutiny

could damage their political standing (Vaidya, 2005). The deterrence produced is not only present in the official lives of the powerful as members of the media also have the ability to gain insight into the private lives of the elite. The ability to access and make private information public demonstrates that the media holds more power in communicating information about crime and justice than researchers (Andvig et al, 2000).

The public generally does not rely on researchers to communicate information about crime and crime control. This large gap between members of academia and members of the general public exists because important information and results of academic studies are not made easily available to the public (Ruggiero, 2012). Academic databases are expensive to access if an individual does not belong to an academic institution. Reading academic articles is a time consuming process due to the length of publications and the use of complex language. Newsmaking criminologists explain that the public has a tendency to consult the media as a way to fill in the knowledge gap and gain an understanding about crime and social phenomenon. The media is easily accessible, engages political representatives, is emotionally charged (Loader & Sparks, 2010) and provides the public with knowledge in a short clip or document. Public criminologists examine the relationship between academics and the public, as well as the relationship between the public and the media in an attempt to offer solutions for filling in the knowledge gap.

Public criminologists seek to reconcile the gap between the production of knowledge about socially relevant issues and attempt to integrate academic findings into public discourse about crime. Chancer and McLaughlin (2007) explain that

“Criminologists have had to confront the embarrassing fact that in a society saturated with “crime talk”, they have utmost difficulty in communicating with politicians, policy makers, professionals and the public” (p. 157). Criminologists have failed to reach the dominant groups of society with their research and are struggling to clarify the blurred line that exists between fact and fiction. A majority of the discussion about crime research exists within a small, targeted group of other academics. Academics make up a small segment of society and Ruggiero (2012) states that attempting to stem the debate within academia about the need to involve more members of the general public in order to fill in the knowledge gap does not allow the message to reach the public. The information presented by the academy needs to be able to extend the public’s dialogue as theory and new findings provide critical and newfound insights into social phenomenon.

Covering Corruption

Corruption exists within every nation and state in numerous shapes and forms of the society’s economic, social and political institutions (Johnson, 2008). Over time, opinions regarding acceptable and unacceptable behaviour shift and vary between the different cultures, classes and communities that exist within a society (Foucault, 1971). The understanding and construction of influences as acceptable is not immune to factors that can have negative impacts on society, such as corruption. The elimination of corruption is a difficult task as demanding more integrity from political actors contradicts the current possessive individualistic culture (Greene & Shugarman, 1997). Furthermore, Wilson (1966) contends that American governments cannot function without the presence of corruption as it has become deeply engrained within the political doctrine. The

understanding of corruption has received recent heightened international inquiry (Xenakis, 2010).

There are various disciplines and political cultures examining political corruption. Consequently, the interdisciplinary nature of the study of corruption does not allow one singular agreed on definition to manifest. Thompson (1993) explains that there are different forms of corruption that are dependent upon the actors involved. Political corruption occurs when a powerful individual utilizes their position for institutional gain that is personal rather than political. Generally, there are “three main elements of the general concept of corruption: a public official gains, a private citizen receives a benefit, and the connection between the gain and the benefit is improper” (Thompson, 1993, p. 369). The benefit does not necessarily have to be corrupt; rather the service in which they are receiving or engaging is procedurally incorrect. This ultimately has the ability to damage the political and social institutions of a society (Thomson, 1993). Thompson’s (1993) definition is a more modern definition that can be easily operationalized and will be the focal definition of corruption for the current inquiry. There are many competing definitions of corruption and some of them will be explored in the current review to demonstrate the interdisciplinary and complex nature of the concept.

Peters and Welch (1978) posit that there are multiple definitions of corruption based on legality, public interest and public opinion. The legalistic definition classifies corruption as an act that violates the political system’s formal standard or rule governing the behaviour of public officials. Nye (1967) adheres to the legalistic definition and explains that political corruption occurs when an act “deviates from the formal duties of a public role (elective or appointive) because of private-regarding (personal, close family,

private clique) wealth or status gains: or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (p. 416). Peters and Welch (1978) view Nye's (1967) definition as straightforward and easy to operationalize, but they also believe that the definition loses its relevancy if a corrupt action is not tied to any legal statutes or court rulings. Peters and Welch (1978) explain that not all actions perceived as corrupt are illegal and not every illegal act is corrupt. In the event of the former, Nye's (1967) definition posits that actions cannot be considered corrupt if actions do not have legislation outlining their illegitimacy.

The second definition of corruption outlined by Peters and Welch (1978) is based on public interest. The public interest definition of corruption encompasses acts that have the possibility to disrupt or devastate a political system. This definition is drawn from the idea that "A corrupt act violates responsibility toward at least one system of public or civic order and is in fact incompatible with (destructive of) any such system" (Rogow & Lasswell, 1963, pp. 132-33). Rogow and Lasswell's (1963) understanding of corruption puts the common interest of the public first and the consideration of corrupt acts second. Among the public, the acceptance of political corruption is not derived from how corruption is defined, but by how the realities of politics are perceived (Phillip, 1997). If acts that could be considered as corrupt are perceived as beneficial to the public, the acts are not viewed as corrupt by the majority population (Peters & Welch, 1978).

Corruption is not a phenomenon limited only to the elite class, but can also include the involvement of the public if the culture as a whole is corrupt (Philip, 1997). The presence of a corrupt culture, whether the people are aware or not of its existence, can be verified through the society's dominant discourse. If the culture's social norms are

inherently corrupt, this will be reflective of the construction, transformation and enforcement of corruption legislation. In some instances categories of gifts, favours and loans are viewed as being morally neutral, but in other contexts or cultures they can be perceived as being corrupt (Grannovetter, 2004).

Phillip (1997) uses bribery as an example to clarify this premise. In some societies, providing an individual or group of influence with a gift, sum of money, or service is comprehended as an act of intended political inducement and, therefore, are perceived as wrongful actions. In other cultures, the action of providing a gift or an offer to an individual of respect may be seen as an act of kindness. Thus, the act of gift giving may not be perceived as an unethical means of influence. There are also cultures that situate their view in between the two discussed examples. Darr (2003) explains that there is a socially constructed level of appropriateness in an exchange relation. Providing an individual with a gift or reward may be viewed as ethical so long as the act does not appear to exceed social standards and/or require an act of reciprocity. If the boundary is crossed, the action transforms from being regarded as harmless to corrupt. Granovetter (2004) explains that the limits placed on the perception of an action can be manipulated, controlled and used to the advantage of those who have power or those who are seeking power to influence the construction of discourse.

A third definition related to corruption involves public opinion. Peters and Welch (1978) draw attention to the explanation by Rundquist, Strom and Peters (1977).

Rundquist et al. (1997) suggest that the public votes corrupt politicians into power as a result of implicit trading between voters and politicians. Politicians may be perceived as corrupt by voters, but are supported due to shared political opinions. The voters want the

issues they believe to be the most pressing pursued and the only means to achieve this goal are perceived to be through the increased power of corrupt politicians. Peters and Welch (1978) believe this definition is quite ambiguous in respect to the concept 'public opinion.' Rundquist et al. (1997) state that corrupt individuals are voted into power as a result of their shared values with the public. However, Peters and Welch (1978) do not see the possibility of all members of the public and all members of the political system sharing the same views and assessment of appropriate modes of conduct. Corruption is not the only term that can be used to describe an individual who violates the socially acceptable code of conduct.

Within the political and corruption discourse, there is also the emergence of inferences of incompetence to explain the behaviours of the politically elite. The consequences of incompetence and corruption can be equally as disastrous; however, the difference between incompetence and corruption emerges in the intent and the specific action taken (Johnston, 1983). An individual perceived as corrupt is thought to purposely seek private gain through illegitimate institutional means. Contrarily, the harmful consequences of an incompetent individual are not interpreted as intentional. The harms emerge as they are not qualified for their position and lack sufficient skills to fulfil the tasks associated with the position they occupy (Jo & Rothenberg, 2011). Thus, the actions of an individual cannot be considered corrupt if they did not have the ability to comprehend that their actions would result in personal gain or have harmful effects on the other institutions and citizens within society.

Some politicians are successful in their use of society's discourse and become elected into or maintain their power position after demonstrating dishonourable attempts

(Ogata et al., 2014). Aristotle (1908) explains that this is accomplished through the demonstration of Ethos, Logos and Pathos. Ethos is the presentation of the speaker as having a strong ethical character to their audience. After using rhetoric and demonstrating a character that ties into the spirit of the nation, politicians use Logos to demonstrate the importance of their narrative. Logos is the addition of an action to their words or reason (Aristotle, 1908). Last, Pathos is the understanding of the individual's emotional appeal (Aristotle, 1908). People do not always automatically act in the right way, instead human instinct is to act according to emotion. The discourse of the politician appeals to the emotions of the public in order to gain support. The classification of respected and powerful individuals as deviant when engaging in dishonourable behaviour is a result of the work by Sutherland.

Sutherland (1939) expanded the understanding of the etiology of crime and criminals beyond traditional definitions. He asserted that crime and deviance are not only committed by those of lower status and living in poverty stricken conditions. Sutherland's (1940) definition of a crime includes the actions of the powerful and indicates that crime can occur in settings other than the streets and lower-class neighbourhoods. Sutherland explained that an act can be considered a crime, even if the act is not met by police intervention or court convictions. Criminal activity, according to Sutherland (1940), is a result of the powerful having discursive control and determining the legality of certain behaviours. The deviant behaviours that the powerful engage in are not defined as illegal. The understanding that the powerful socially construct phenomenon and abuse their powers so that the elite can engage in deviance without being subjected to social control led to the birth of the term 'white collar criminal.'

Sutherland (1983) defines white collar crime as “a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation” (p. 7). This radical type of thinking exposed the detrimental harms powerful individuals can cause a society. Those who are in powerful positions have the ability to influence society and the power they hold allows them to have the ability to breach citizen’s rights and freedoms. Sutherland (1940) explains that the crimes of the powerful can cause damage that is far worse than the consequences associated with many street level crimes. If the trust the citizens have in their elite class and governance is knowingly violated, predominately if financial loss was caused, the deviant actions of the powerful can promote a culture of cynicism and disorganization. This is a result of low social morale and the large effects white collar crimes have on social institutions and society’s organization. Sutherland’s dedication to exploring previously ignored crimes inspired the efforts of Benson (1985).

Benson’s (1985) and Benson and Simpson’s (2009) work is dedicated to understanding the white collar criminal and white collar crime. Benson and Simpson (2009) argue that white collar crime has financial, physical and social implications based not in why white collar offenders engage in criminal activity, but how white collar criminals engage in crime. These implications are grounded in two main assumptions: the existence of an opportunity structure and the maintenance of a non-criminal identity.

The opportunity structure proposed by Benson and Simpson (2009) examines how white collar criminals have the ability to engage in crime through the availability of access to criminal opportunities. The amount of access to criminal opportunities and the techniques used to commit an offense are dependent upon the individual’s position within society (i.e., social status, respectability, elite occupation). Benson and Simpson’s (2009)

explanation of the opportunity structure is influenced by Cohen and Felson's (1979) routine activity theory. Cohen and Felson (1979) explain that in order for a crime to commence, there needs to be a criminal opportunity stemming from a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the lack of a capable guardian. Offenders must calculate the costs and the benefits associated with the commission of a crime. They must ensure that all three of these elements are present and strong enough to allow the rewards of the crime to exceed the costs. The opportunities and techniques used to complete the crime are much different for street criminals than they are for white collar criminals.

Benson and Simpson (2009) explain that white collar criminals are granted the opportunity to commit crimes through their specialized access, superficial legitimacy and the spatial separation from their victims. White collar criminals are able to use deception, abuse the trust they have been granted due to their elite identity and have the ability to conceal their conspiracy attempts. Ultimately, white collar criminals have adequate means and resources to allow them to make their illegitimate activities appear legitimate.

Benson (1985) argues that white collar criminals have the ability to maintain a non-criminal identity while engaging in criminal activities. A non-criminal identity is established through the denial of criminal responsibility and the process of minimizing society's negative responses to their actions. This includes assertions that their actions were illegal and not criminal; the consequences of their actions were due to oversights, mistakes, or technical violations; they present themselves as being law abiding citizens with a heightened sense of morality; and the negative reputation they are receiving is punishment enough. Benson and Simpson (2009) posit that these rationalizations are not afterthoughts to lessen the stigma associated with their criminality, but are formed prior

to the commission of the act. The rationalizing of acts before their occurrence is completed through the use of accounts and techniques of neutralization.

An account is a form of rationalization utilized to explain problematic behaviour and exists in two forms. The first form is an excuse. Benson (1985) explains an excuse occurs when an individual admits to engaging in an untoward behaviour, but denies full responsibility for the commission of the act. An excuse, for example, exists when an individual convicted of tax evasion rationalizes their behaviour by stating the act was an accident due to the complexity of the system. The second form of an account is a justification. A justification occurs when an individual accepts responsibility for their behaviour, but denies the seriousness of the act (Benson, 1985). Benson and Simpson (2009) provide an example of a teller who embezzles money from their workplace. The teller justifies their actions by stating the bank owed them money for working overtime, but management refused provide them with suitable compensation for their time. This assists in decreasing the blameworthiness associated with the white collar criminal's actions.

The offender's reduction of the blameworthiness and the seriousness of the event is an attempt to eliminate the assignment of a criminal label and reduce the negative reaction by society. Benson (1985) explains that white collar offenders use Sykes and Matza's (1957) techniques of neutralization as a method to deny their guilty mind. Techniques of neutralization include (1) denial of responsibility, where acts are perceived as beyond the control of the deviant being; (2) denial of injury, where acts are perceived as not causing any real harm or the harm is justified; (3) denial of the victim, where the offender states that the acts were not wrongful because either the victim deserved the

injury, or there was not a real victim; (4) condemnation of the condemners, where those who are disproving are perceived as committing suspect actions; and (5) appealing to higher loyalties, where the act was committed because of the demands or loyalty to important others. According to Sykes and Matza (1957), these techniques are available for use by all members of society, regardless of their social class.

White collar crime is considered a power crime as it is not a crime that all members of society have an equal opportunity to commit. There is a balance between the amount of control exercised by an individual and the amount of control experienced (Ruggiero & Welch, 2008). This ratio can be witnessed through the examination of the social organizations the individual belongs to and the cultural elements they possess that allots them the power to shape rhetoric, definitions and social norms. The crimes the power criminal is able to commit are extremely dangerous as they have the ability to shape the prosperity and stability of the country, as well as the life of the citizens (Johnson, 2008).

Chapter 3: Contextualising the Current Inquiry

Sutherland extended the definition of the criminal through the ideology that assumptions should not be made about criminal activities based on social status. Large cultural groups in society, such as the powerful, should not be forgotten in the analysis of crime. Braithwaite (1985) posits that Sutherland's definition is flawed as it is inherently class based. Sutherland highlights that the white collar criminal is a person of "respectability". For Braithwaite (1985), this descriptive is problematic as there are citizens who do not possess high social status that engage in forms of white collar crimes. The current inquiry agrees with Braithwaite (1985), but also extends the criticism further. Sutherland stresses that those who are in a position of power commit elitist types of crimes, such as those of a corporate and financial nature. Influential and high status individuals have greater access to crimes of power than those of lower social status. However, those who occupy powerful positions within society have the ability to also engage in street level crime and crimes that are perceived by Sutherland to be reserved for those of low socio-economic status. The current inquiry seeks to explore this unidentified relationship between the powerful individual and their relationship with middle-class to lower-class offenses. Furthermore, there are individuals who engage in criminal activities that belong to the power classes, but have lost the respect of the people in their society.

Benson's (1985) research on the white collar criminal also warrants criticisms. Benson examines the identity the offender creates for themselves and the way they project this self-concept onto others. There is a gap remaining in respect to the view the media has of the corrupt individual and the justification of the various levels of crime in

which an elite individual may engage. The current inquiry will consider how the media frames the corrupt individual's response to their deviance as well as the types of crimes in which an elite individual can engage. These crimes can be both in relation to the amount of status they hold (i.e., corruption) and the status they do not possess (i.e., public intoxication). The lack of a coherent and applicable theory results in the need for a grounded approach to be taken in the current inquiry.

Etzioni (1984), Meier and Holbrook (1992); Rogow and Laswell (1978) and van Klaveren (1978) have taken empirical approaches to understanding corruption and consequently describe the causes, consequences, incentives and motives of corruption actions. The motives are predominantly based in monetary private gains, profit maximization and the lack of effective regulation. Other studies, such as those by Alatas (1990), Braithwaite (1981/1982) and Chambliss (1978), have focused on the broader implications of corruption and have suggested means to assist in the prevention, reduction or elimination of corruption. These studies fail to take into account the rationale for engaging in crimes that do not include the increase of money or status while occupying a position of power or respect. Without fully understanding the corrupt individual and an accurate definition of the matter, the addressing of corruption will not be plausible.

Previous research has discussed the influence the media has on its viewers regarding their opinions of political decisions and occurrences. McCombs (1997) states: "To a considerable degree, the news media literally create in our heads the pictures of many public issues [...] there is also good evidence that news coverage influences the pictures that people have of the candidates vying for political office" (p. 434). The

media's representation of political candidates can influence the direction of the public's political discourse. There are also many researchers dedicated to understanding human selection of mediums and the effects the various sources have on public opinions regarding political and social issues. For example, Lazarsfeld, Lipset, Barton, and Linz (1954) posit that most individuals consult sources that contain biases similar to their own. Due to the large amount of literature that examines media influence on consumer opinions, the current inquiry attempts to take an alternative approach to understanding the relationship between crime, the media and media consumers. The current inquiry seeks to examine the information presented to consumers that could consequently influence their understanding of social reality and political deviance.

Chapter 4: Methods and Procedures

The Rob Ford Saga

C. Wright Mills (1959) explains that one cannot understand current social problems without considering the intersection of present society with history and biography. The current inquiry seeks to examine the construction of events involving Ford as scandalous since he has occupied the position of mayor. This cannot be completed without first historically grounding and contextualizing the Ford Saga.

Robert (Rob) Bruce Ford was born in Etobicoke on May 28, 1969 to a father, Doug Ford Sr., who taught him the importance of political and community involvement (Doolittle, 2014). Doug Ford Sr. grew up during the depression and experienced economic strife. Ford Sr. kept true to his dreams and was able to increase his social status and became a member of the elite class of society. Through hard work and dedication, Ford Sr. became a politician and gained an incredible amount of wealth by founding an industrial leading company (Doolittle, 2014). Rob Ford kept his father's values close throughout his life's journey, but also added some characteristics of his own. Ford's rise to fame is characterized by his involvement in many scandalous events and his association with deviant characters, both in his youth and adulthood.

Ford served for 10 years as a councillor for Toronto's Ward 2 before being elected as mayor in 2010. His mayoralty platform was based upon the ethos that he was an ordinary man who makes mistakes. This fit within Toronto's public discourse as the social and political dilemma in 2010 consisted the end of honour in political life (Ogata et al., 2014). The public's discourse over time developed a distrust towards politicians due to continuous failure to follow through with promises and the misuse of power (Ogata et

al., 2014). Ford created the identity that he was genuine and vowed to stop the “gravy train”. He promised to save the taxpayers valuable money by eliminating the elite’s frivolous and wasteful spending habits. Ford persuaded the voters of his honourability by keeping true to his promise while in office and put millions of dollars back into taxpayer pockets. Among many victories, he eliminated the Personal Vehicle Tax, declared Toronto Transit an essential service, reduced his office and city councillor budgets and led council to freeze its own salaries (City of Toronto).

Throughout Ford’s campaigning, Ford’s character was called into question by political oppositions as he had difficulty professionally expressing himself regarding political, controversial and sensitive topics. Ford responded by acknowledging that he, just like everyone else, is not perfect and that the ethos of his character is “about integrity, it’s about helping kids get off the street, helping thousands of kids get out of gangs... I’m not gonna play games...” (Doolittle, 2014, p. 95). Despite Ford’s dishonourable behaviour, his popularity rose among the public (Ogata et al., 2014). Ford was the underdog dedicated to providing excellent face service to the citizens of Toronto and stopping the City Hall money waste (Doolittle, 2014).

Although a source of conflict within the Ford Saga after becoming elected as mayor, Ford dedicated much of his time to assist the youth of the city. Ford had a passion for football and believed it was a source of positive development for youth (Ogata et al., 2014). Ford believed football would take troubled youth off the street and would provide them with a pro-social activity in which to be involved. He believed this would deter youth from turning to a deviant life path. He displayed his dedication by coaching and

creating the Rob Ford Football Foundation to fund football programs within high schools across the city.

The selection of a case for a case study can be based on the cases ability to be generalized to other cases or they can also be selected based on their uniqueness (Stake, 1995). Atypical cases, despite their inability to be representative of phenomenon as a whole, have the potential to be more informative and enable the researcher to identify causal process, generate hypothesis and develop theory, than typical cases (Som, 2005).

The *Toronto Stars* framing of the Ford Saga was chosen as the case for the current inquiry based on the uniqueness and wealth of information presented in the sources.

Ford's career as a politician is characterized by scandal and deviance and received a large amount of attention by the *Toronto Star*. Regardless of when the scandals date back to, this paper will solely focus on the events that were published in the media after Ford had been elected into mayoralty. These dates fall between June 23, 2011 and January 22, 2014. The following graphic outlines the scandals explored in the current inquiry.

Table 1

The Rob Ford Saga

Year	Date	Event	Classification	Denial	Themes
2011	June 23	Ford is absent from Toronto's pride week	Incompetent	Family values	Prejudice , money and finances
	October 25	Ford calls the police on a CBC reporter		Victim	
2012	March 3	Ford chases Daniel Dale off of neighbouring property	Incompetent and corrupt	Victim	Neglect for the law, deviance
	March 12	The conflict of interest case against Ford is launched	Corrupt	Hero	Money and finances, neglect for the law
	August 15	Ford is photographed reading and driving at the same time	Incompetent	Busy	Neglect for the law
	September 12	Ford leaves a council meeting for a football game. This results in information being revealed about Ford misusing his staff and resource for	Incompetent and corruption	Hero	Prejudice , money and finances, neglect for the law

		personal and not political tasks			
	September 20	Ford confuses Winnipeg and Windsor	Incompetent		
	November 3	Ford staff remove passengers off of Toronto Transit for the football team Ford coaches	Incompetent	Not his decision	Money and finances
	November 27	Ford loses the conflict of interest case	Corrupt>Incompetent	Displacement of blame	Prejudice , deviance, neglect for the law
2013	January 26	Ford wins his appeal of the decision of the conflict of interest case	Incompetent>Corrupt		Money and finances
	March 9	Sarah Thompson accuses Ford of groping her	Corrupt (re: conflict of interest event)	Victim	Prejudice , deviance, neglect for the law
	March 25	Allegations are made that Ford was asked to leave a gala because he was intoxicated	Incompetent>corrupt	Victim	Deviance , neglect for the law
	May 18	<i>Toronto Star</i> reporters view the cell phone video	Incompetent	Victim	Prejudice , deviance

		that shows Ford smoking what appears to be crack cocaine			
	May 19	Doug steps in for Ford and denies the existence of the crack video	Incompetent	Victim	Prejudice , deviance, money and finances
	May 23	Don Bosco's parent council removes Ford as coach for their football team	Incompetent and corrupt		Prejudice , deviance
	May 24	Ford fires, Towhey, his chief of staff	Incompetent and corrupt		Prejudice , deviance, neglect for the law, money and finances
	May 25	Ford ends his silence and denies the existence of the crack cocaine video	Incompetent	Victim	Money and finances, deviance, prejudice
	May 27	Ford calls the media maggots	Incompetent	Victims, hero	Deviance , prejudice
	May 28	Gawker raises \$200,000 to see the crack cocaine video	Incompetent		Money and finances, deviance

	May 28	Ford's press secretary resigns	Incompetent	Apologetic, victim, appreciative of staff	Deviance
	May 28	Smith, one of the men in the popular photo that displays Ford posing with men who are allegedly gang members, was shot; Ford allegedly knows location of video	Criminal Identity	Street knowledge	Deviance
	June 11	Ford demotes his last female councillor	Incompetent and corrupt	Wants to help women	Deviance , prejudice , neglect for the law
	June 13	A man in Alberta falls from a balcony and links are speculated upon between this incident and the Ford crack cocaine video	Criminal Identity		Deviance
	June 14	Police raids seize illegal firearms and drugs. Chief of police, Blair, does	Incompetent	Unaware of situation, victim	Deviance , neglect for the law

		not confirm or deny evidence linking Ford to criminal activity, thus causing speculation			
	June 16	Woman assaults Ford by throwing her drink at him		Victim	Deviance
	August 2	Video peddler, Siad, arrested		Victim	Money and finance, deviance
	August 9	Ford loses another staffer	Understaffed but no actual incompetent implications		Prejudice , neglect for the law
	August 11	A drug dealer demands money from Ford	Crime in family, but Ford's criminal identity is not discussed		Money and finances, deviance,
	August 11	Ford is drunk at Danforth Music Festival	Incompetent		Deviance
	August 29	Ford claims to have smoked "a lot of pot"	Corrupt		Deviance , neglect for the law
	October 10	Ford's friend and occasional driver, Lisi, is arrested and Ford vouches for his character	Incompetent	Lacking knowledge, loyalty values, victim	Deviance , neglect for the law, money and finance
	October 22	Ford fights with a	Incompetent	Victim	Deviance

		<i>Toronto Sun</i> writer			
	October 24	Police investigation : crack video surfaces and confirm photo taken at a drug house	Criminal Identity	Lacking knowledge	Deviance
	Novembe r 1	The crack cocaine video is confirmed as real by Toronto Police	Incompetent> corrupt	Incredible track record; displaces attention elsewhere	Deviance , neglect for the law
	Novembe r 2	Ford staff speak out about Ford's alleged drunkenness at the office	Incompetent		Deviance
	Novembe r 3	Ford apologizes for his behaviour	Incompetent	Mistake, victimized by the media, cooperative	Deviance , neglect for the law
	Novembe r 6	Ford admits to smoking crack cocaine	Incompetent	Mistake, remorseful, hero, diminished responsibility	Money and finances, deviance, neglect for the law
	Novembe r 8	A cell phone video emerges of Ford drunk and violently ranting in a living room	Incompetent	Mistake	Deviance
	Novembe r 14	Ford staff secrets are revealed and allegations emerge	Corruption	Displaces blame (drunken stupor)	Prejudice , deviance, neglect

		regarding Ford's behaviour on Saint Patrick's Day of 2012			for the law
	November 16	Ford's powers are stripped; reports of Ford's domestic violence	Incompetent	Wronged by council	Deviance
	December 12	Ford implies Dale is a pedophile	Incompetent	Victim	Money and finance, deviance, prejudice
	December 13	Dale pursues libel charges against Ford	Criminal	Truthful	Neglect for the law; deviance
	December 18	Ford apologizes to Dale for the first time	Incompetent > corruption	Victim, displaces the blame, truthful, misinterpretation	Prejudice, deviance, neglect for the law
	December 19	Dale drops lawsuit after Ford's second apology	Incompetent	Apologetic	
2014	January 22	Vulgar Jamaican accent video	Incompetent	Personal life, having a good time	Prejudice, Deviance, neglect for the law

Note. The table summarizes the events that are classified as scandal involving Rob Ford

Sample

Drawing on the social constructivist paradigm, the current inquiry seeks to understand the construction of political scandal and criminality in online news media.

The purposes for examining these constructions are to understand (1) the information that is presented to the general public and (2) the creation of popular discourse regarding events involving the politically elite within Canadian society. A content analysis of the online news reports within the *Toronto Star* discussing the Ford Saga was used as the research technique to achieve the objectives of the current inquiry. More specifically, articles ranging from the dates of June 23, 2011 to January 22, 2014 were used as the temporal guidelines for sample collection.

The use of newspapers as the main research instrument in the examination of the social construction of crime phenomenon and the establishment of power has been used by researchers across the social sciences. Chermak (1997) used print and electronic news media to examine the media construction of social problems, such as drug crimes, drug policies and the sources used to legitimize the media representations. Di Tella and Franceschelli (2011) also were interested in understanding the role the media plays in modern societies. They used newspapers as a tool to explore the relationship between front page reporting of government scandals and government advertising spending. To better understand corruption, Lambropoulou, Ageli, Papamanolis, and Bakali (2007) analyzed articles from three daily newspapers to determine the origin of public concerns regarding corruption, instead of following the example set by many previous researchers who have consulted the corruption perceptions index. The corruption perceptions index ranks countries according to their corruption levels and is based on perceptions derived from surveys (Transparency International, 2014). Lambropoulou et al. (2007) posit that previous researchers who have used the corruption perceptions index have not been able to fully examine the complicated relationship between corruption and the state. The use

of the media as a research tool is not only justified through the abundance of information publications contain, but also to resolve ethical dilemmas that arise from studying sensitive topics.

Corruption is a difficult and sensitive subject to research and study participants must be safeguarded (Ullah & Arthanari, 2011). The use of Internet media as a source of information provides researchers with the ability to coherently collect perceptions about corruption without having to be concerned with the safety of participants or be involved in ethical dilemmas. This information was made publicly available by the source so safeguards, such as confidentiality, do not need to be ensured by the researcher. The current inquiry not only used Internet sources as a means to gain information, but Internet sources were also used for the purpose of selecting a date range for the Ford Saga.

The date range for the current inquiry was determined by consulting timelines created by media sources that were available on the Internet. The events in these timelines were defined as the scandalous events in which Rob Ford has been involved as Toronto Mayor. The sources associated dates, images and descriptions of the events in the creation of their timelines. This information was synthesized and utilized as reference for the creation of a 64 event timeline, often referred to as the Ford Saga in the current inquiry.

Using the dates associated with the events in the timeline and through the use of an online database, the *Toronto Star* archive was searched. The data was collected using a purposive sampling strategy. This strategy ensured that only articles relevant to the research question were included in the sample (Sullivan & Chermak, 2012). Articles were found and collected by using “Ford” as the search term two days before and after each

specified timeline event date. Searching a date range instead of relying on the date specified on the timeline was crucial to the sampling validity. This assisted in determining if the dates outlined by the sources consulted were accurate. Although the timeline stated an event happened on a specific date, the journalists may not have responded to the event, were unable to report or were unable to publish the story on the date the event happened. On the days to follow, there was often follow up commentary by the reporters or new information was revealed. A series of eliminations were used to ensure only articles related to the important events on the Ford timeline were used in the current inquiry.

Articles were immediately excluded from collection if they did not make reference to Rob Ford (i.e., Ford the car company) or if they made reference to Ford in a context that was not related to the scandals (i.e., discussing Ford's opinion on bike lanes). This process led to an initial sample consisting of $n = 218$ articles. Articles were then further excluded from the sample if they passed the first screening and did not discuss Ford, the Ford family or the consequences of his actions. Furthermore, articles were excluded from the sample if they were only previews of stories that were collected in full or were a summary of the events that were going to be discussed in the current issue of the newspaper.

Of the 64 events on the timeline, 13 events were eliminated as no significant occurrence had taken place (i.e., discussing supporters), were not a scandal (i.e., Ford was rerunning for office) or did not discuss Ford as the primary topic of the event. A brief mention of Ford would not ensure a meaningful analysis and contribute to the research questions. Instead, more in depth articles regarding Ford scandals were given greater

relevance. In addition to removing events completely from the timeline, 6 events were removed from the timeline and combined with another event on the timeline. This process of elimination and clustering of stories is similar to that taken by Di Tella and Franceschelli (2011). This ensured that only events related to the main objective of the current study were taken into consideration and that one scandal was not examined as separate occurrences and inaccurately influencing the analysis.

Articles covering the remaining events were eliminated if they were exact transcripts of a Ford speech; not related to the event in which they were originally associated; were opinion pieces written by experts or members of the public; consisted of mini timelines of Ford scandals; were transcripts of journalists interacting with the public through question and answer periods; or included other politicians as the main focus and merely mentioned Ford as a thought in a couple sentences. Editorials and articles written by journalists were included in the sample and analysis as they are written by individuals who are employed by the *Toronto Star* and have the power to purvey their opinions to consumers. This last round of eliminations ensured that the current inquiry kept true to the research questions and main purpose of the study: the understanding of the media representation of the scandalous events in which Rob Ford is associated. The multi-stage eliminations resulted in the sample consisting of $n = 152$ *Toronto Star* articles within 45 timeline events.

The *Toronto Star* was chosen as the data source because it is local to the Ford story. Both the newspaper and the mayor prosper in the city of Toronto. Locality is important to understanding the social aspects of corruption. Focusing on the local context allows researchers to determine how power is wielded, unlike focusing on provincial,

national and global contexts where only the likeliness of a relationship can be established (Andvig et al., 2000). The reporters of the *Toronto Star* have a unique relationship with the Ford story. One of the first events in the timeline used in the current inquiry consists of a controversial incident between Ford and *Toronto Star* journalist, Daniel Dale.

Toronto Star reporters, Kevin Donovan and Robin Doolittle were the first reporters to break the story of the greatest scandal of Ford's career: the existence of a video that shows Ford allegedly smoking crack cocaine while making derogatory comments regarding the youth of his football program and Liberal leader, Justin Trudeau.

Throughout the duration of Ford's position as mayor, the *Toronto Star* was continuously able to gain insight into the scandals in which Ford has been involved. The journalists readily made the information available to the public not only through print media, but also Internet media.

The *Toronto Star* allowed for an analysis of crime in the Canadian context. Much of the corruption literature does not venture into the examination of political corruption in the Canadian context, nor does it focus on individuals who are lower on the power spectrum. The previous literature that examines corruption looks at countries around the globe, such as in Africa (see Muslia & Sique, 2010), Argentina (See Di Tella & Franceschelli, 2011) China (see Gong, 2002), Greece (see Lambropoulou et al., 2007), Pakistan (see Ullah & Arthanari, 2011), and the United States (see Johnston, 1983). Atkinson and Mancuso (1985) consider perceptions of political corruption by members of the Canadian government. This research, however, does not consider current social problems and is very broad as it does not consider the corrupt actions of any given

individual, municipality or province. The current inquiry focuses on one individual's longitudinal actions as a case.

Case Study as a Method

A case study of the *Toronto Star's* framing of Toronto's former mayor, Rob Ford is the research method used for the current inquiry. Yin (2009) defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Case studies are a form of empirical investigation that explore the history of past or contemporary phenomenon. Case studies are important for studying phenomenon in its natural context and phenomenon that cannot be explored through the use of a controlled or experimental research setting (Crowe et al., 2011). Case studies are rich in data sources as any material relevant to the events and phenomenon being considered can be potentially used as a data source (Stone, 1978). The aim of researchers who use case studies is to apply or extend theory through the pursuit of explaining, describing and exploring complex phenomenon from a variety of perspectives (Yin, 2009).

A case study approach was chosen for the current analysis for many reasons. First, case studies are exploratory; thus, they are appropriate for considering the 'how' and 'why' questions related to social reality (Robson, 1993; Ullah & Arthanari, 2011). The exploratory and qualitative nature of the case study was the best option for exploring the research questions of the current inquiry. The Ford Saga is enriched with various constructions of events and relevant social phenomena by the *Toronto Star*. These

complex phenomena can be better understood through the use of a method that provides a relatively full understanding and complete picture of the events (Meredith, 1998).

Second, case studies offer an advantage when inquiring about a whole event or a series of events (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Case studies allow the development of information to be considered as it progresses over time (Leonard-Barton, 1990) and produces great insight into how actors function in their daily settings and ordinary pursuits (Stake, 1995). The scandals in which Rob Ford has been involved are multiple and occur throughout the course of his political career. The case study allowed the current inquiry to examine the media construction of the Rob Ford scandals longitudinally as a saga, instead of limiting the inquiry to choosing only the *Toronto Star's* representation of one scandal.

Third, case studies allow researchers to consider phenomenon in the natural context in which the phenomenon occurs (Yin, 2009). Context has two meanings and important benefits to the current inquiry. The context of a phenomenon can be regarded as the setting in which the phenomenon takes place (Stake, 1995). The Ford Saga and the *Toronto Star's* representation of the Ford Saga takes place in a variety of contexts (i.e., spoken and written discourse; political and state power settings; local, provincial, national and global societies) and the case study method allowed the current inquiry to take into account elements of the various settings. Case study research also considers context by allowing researchers to explore the way phenomenon actually occurs in a given situation (Yin, 2009). This does not only include the actions of Ford and the situations that influence his engagement in scandal, but also the *Toronto Star's* portrayal of Ford and society's stakeholders. The Ford Saga and the *Toronto Star* could not be

controlled in the current inquiry and data could not be collected through field study.

Thus, the case study allowed for the use of archival data (Stone, 1978) and *Toronto Star* representations of various stakeholder perceptions.

Last, Ullah and Arthanari (2011) explain that case studies must include key stakeholders. There are many participants in the Ford Saga and their perspectives are written about by the *Toronto Star*. The use of stakeholders is one of the important elements of the research question. Chermak (1997) explains that reporters make reference to sources and stakeholders in the community as consumers are less likely to question the validity of the representation of the event. This also increases the validity of the study as Campbell (1975) explains that observations should be explored from various perspectives. Case study research also has flaws and limitations.

McGrath (1982) states that “all research methods are seriously flawed – though each is flawed differently” (p. 15). Researchers can overcome this dilemma if they “choose – and often to devise – a set of measures... that together, transcend one another’s methodological vulnerabilities (McGrath, 1982, p. 99). Case study research is often challenged on the foundation that the method has difficulty in achieving high levels of validity and reliability (Crowe et al., 2011). The current inquiry overcame this methodological issue by emphasizing the strengths the case study method had for examining political deviance and ensuring that the strengths outweigh the weaknesses. The inquiry also sought to address the weaknesses of the method throughout the research process to minimize their influence.

Longitudinal case studies invite criticism regarding validity and reliability that are not a concern in singular event and retrospective case studies (Street & Ward, 2012).

Reviewers of longitudinal case studies have been noted to challenge the process taken to select the events on the timeline, as opposed to directly challenging the events chosen for the timeline. Street and Ward (2012) conclude that there is seldom information provided on ensuring internal validity and adequate dates are captured in timeline case studies. The best way for the study to achieve validity is through the clear communication of formal protocols throughout the research process.

Many researchers believe that the use of transparency throughout the various aspects of the research process is to achieve validity (Crowe et al., 2011; Street & Ward, 2012). Transparency is achieved by clearly communicating the details of the research process to readers and outlining strict guidelines for conducting the research. This includes the careful description of the steps taken in the case selection and data collection; the careful explanation of the methods chosen; and being explicit about the researcher's biases and influence on the data. The current inquiry attempted to maintain high levels of internal validity by providing an in-depth methods chapter. The methods chapter documents in detail the current inquiry's research process and discusses the steps taken to ensure researcher assumptions do not significantly impact the discovery of the inquiry. Ensuring the presence of content validity is another contributing factor to the current inquiry's internal validity.

Content validity is an important instrument for ensuring the internal validity of the current inquiry. This was established by clearly defining start and finish dates for the Ford Saga and using a date range for the collection of articles associated with each event in the saga. Street and Ward (2012) explain that the establishment of a proper time boundaries significantly reduces the occurrence of censorship (the overlooking of

important events) and spoiler effect (allowing biases to shape the selection of data to support an expected result). The use of a date range for data collection of each individual event on the timeline ensured important information was not omitted due to the inaccuracy of the source and barriers that prevented immediate publishing of an event. The reduction of missing information that could influence the results of the current inquiry assisted in assuring validity.

External validity is also an important element in the methods used for the current inquiry. External validity can be safeguarded in case study research by using more than one case for comparison (Leonard-Barton, 1990). Although the current inquiry did not compare multiple cases to confirm the media representation of political scandals, the current inquiry focused on all of the Ford scandals in the defined time period. This allowed for a larger picture of the representation of Ford and reduced the chances of one event inaccurately influencing the inquiry's findings.

The current case study is longitudinal as there are multiple events associated with the Ford Saga and each of the events are associated with one or more articles written by various journalists of the *Toronto Star*. This allows for an effective use of triangulation to ensure a valid and holistic picture (Remenyi, Williams, Money, & Swartz, 1998) of the saga is created. Triangulation is the use of more than one approach when investigating the research questions and adopting multiple angles to view the same phenomenon (Gilbert, Ruigrok & Wicki, 2008; Yin, 2004). This can be done through various data collection techniques and the use of multiple sources of information (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Yin, 1994). Triangulation is important to case study research as the use of various perspectives provides the findings and arguments presented a strong and supporting

foundation (Dibb & Meadows, 2011). Triangulation is present in the current inquiry as the inquiry includes the use of multiple perspectives throughout the Ford Saga to confirm the frames presented. The inquiry considered multiple scandals, authors and representations of various stakeholders in Canadian society. Triangulation can also be used as a tool for ensuring longitudinal reliability throughout the research process.

Longitudinal reliability is essential in ensuring the accuracy of case study research that considers a phenomenon over a period of time (Street & Ward, 2012). Longitudinal reliability is described by Street and Ward (2012) as the reproducibility of an account of a sequence of events that accurately shows the events in the order in which they occurred. Triangulation can be used as a means for reducing negative impacts on reliability (Crowe et al., 2011). Triangulation was used at multiple points in the research process. First, the inquiry used triangulation in the creation of the timeline of Ford Saga. Multiple sources were consulted to ensure that if another researcher were to conduct a similar inquiry, they would include the same events in the timeline. Second, the inquiry used triangulation in the data collection phase of the current inquiry. Although only one medium was used from which information was collected, triangulation was still present as the medium itself contained numerous sources. Each event in the timeline had one or more journalists or *Toronto Star* staff members reporting on the event. The inquiry collected all the reports associated with the event and resulted in a sample containing a large amount of data and multiple perspectives to be considered.

Analytical Approach

Much of the previous literature that examines the relationship between corruption and the media takes a quantitative approach (see Atkinson & Mancuso, 1985; Musila &

Sigue, 2010; Vaidya, 2005). The use of a quantitative approach allows researchers to predict when and where corruption is most likely to occur. However, quantitative methods will not provide adequate information on the phenomenon being measured as the variables used do not match local realities. Conflated perceptions of the phenomenon are a result of quantitative research due to variables not being grounded in empirical reality (Xenakis, 2010). The variables indicate a level of corruption at a national or global level that may not actually be present in the experiences of the daily lives of the citizens. Other studies regarding corruption and the media use literature reviews as their method of analysis (see Levi, 2006; Xenakis, 2010). This type of research is helpful in understanding the phenomenon by synthesizing and evaluating already discovered information. Literature reviews do not allow for new discovery, thus, the current inquiry takes the form of a content analysis.

A content analysis was utilized as the primary analysis for the newspaper articles in the current inquiry. Krippendorff (2013) explains that a content analysis is an empirically grounded method that is exploratory in process and predictive or inferential in intent. Content analyses allow for the examination of data, patterns, images, sounds or texts to understand what these symbols mean to people, what they enable or prevent and what the information conveyed by them means. Corruption is a complex phenomenon and qualitative research is necessary as it allows scholars to delve deeper into the analysis and examine the social, economic, cultural and government systems of a society (Ullah & Arthanari, 2011).

The data retrieved from the articles in the sample was distributed into thematic content categories and organized through the use of a table. Similar to the study

conducted by Precupetu (2007), a process of open coding was used. The codes were not predetermined, but were created and revised as they emerged throughout the reading of the articles. Open coding allows for the development of rich concepts and encourages close ties with the data (Ullah & Arthanari, 2011). This allowed the relationship between the various themes to prosper and connections between the concepts to be understood, instead of forcing the information to fit into pre-defined categories. The open coding was conducted while keeping the main research questions in mind but also bias was set aside so that unpredicted trends and patterns in the data could be assessed.

The current inquiry sought to examine the discourse associated with Ford and the implications associated with his behaviour by the *Toronto Star*. This does not only include the frames and constructions of Ford's behaviour by the media. The current inquiry also explored the ways in which the media portrays the authenticity of presented information through the voice of various stakeholders in Canadian society. These stakeholders include Ford's colleagues in politics and governance and the interpretation of Ford's denials. The implications that exist within the data, their themes, and subthemes were carefully examined to determine how they fit within the corruption/incompetent spectrum or within a different category not hypothesized before the start of data collection.

Utilizing Thompson's (1993) definition of corruption, the concept was operationalized. Thompson's (1993) definition is a combination of both public interest and legal oriented definitions of corruption. This definition was fairly straightforward and easy to operationalize, thus, allowing for less subjective interpretation (Peters & Welch, 1978). The articles were examined for inferences of Ford attempting to increase his

political standing through dishonest behaviour; the lack of integrity and a valid ethical code; and electoral malpractice and the abuse of power.

Incompetence was operationalized utilizing Jo and Rothenberg's (2011) definition. This included the lack of intelligence; lack of rationality and judgement; inability to consider the consequences of his actions; and insufficient skills to adequately fulfill the tasks of his job. Incompetence is a characteristic that is rarely studied in regards to the misconduct of the powerful. A majority of the incompetence literature took a medical standpoint and focused on nursing and healthcare (see Weisensee, Kjervik, & Anderson, 1992). The small amount of literature that can be considered part of the social sciences focused on the legal aspects of incompetence and court defences (see Fein & Miller, 1972). The lack of attention placed on incompetence in political, crime and corruption discourse is not an impediment to the current inquiry. Johnson (1983) explains that seldom studied phenomenon can provide great advantages in the overall results of the research. Incompetence, as discussed in Phillip's (1997) review, is important for understanding the spectrum of accusations that can be associated with the behaviour of a political figure.

The analysis was guided by the premises of grounded theory. Grounded theory is an interpretive research approach that is based on the belief that behaviour patterns emerge as individuals interact with each other and shape social practice (Glaser, 1978). When taking a grounded approach, the researcher must be comfortable with the approach's main five assumptions. Glaser and Strauss (1967) explain that grounded theory assumes that qualitative data analysis is basically pragmatic. Previous research provides some rules and guidelines for conducting a study, but there is an element of the

research that requires the researcher to apply their own ingenuity and creativity. The second premise explains that qualitative analysis aims to generate new concepts and theories (Creswell, 1994). The researcher must have strong analytical skills and be capable of thinking abstractly so that the necessary information can be drawn from the data. The third premise, explained by Denscombe (1998), is that theory should be grounded in empirical reality. The researcher must continuously engage with the data and rigorously check and refine the data collected. There must be the constant search for similarities and differences as the units are collected. The fourth premise highlights that the researcher must be open minded (Glasser, 1998). Researchers must understand that their knowledge on the subject is limited and they must set aside their biases and preconceived notions of the results. The final premise explains that the participants cannot be predicted right from the very beginning (Denscombe, 1998). Participants are chosen as they are needed and the sampling context shifts depending on the events, happenings and concepts that emerge.

Neff, Pots and Whithaus (2011) utilize a grounded approach to understand the influence the new media has on teaching and learning in elementary schools and hospitals. They conclude that a grounded approach is the best way to pursue study related to social activities as the methodological approach strengthened their research in seven aspects. A grounded approach (1) provided the ability to bridge the interpretive gap between researchers and practitioners; (2) encouraged the research team to work together; (3) supported numerous forms of data collection; (4) provided the ability to report the results to a wide variety of audiences from different disciplinary backgrounds; (5) allowed the outcomes and concepts produced to be extended to other contexts; (6)

included induction, deduction, and abduction of the data; (7) allowed for the methodological process to be well explained; and (6) created visual opportunities of learning and explanation due to the requirement for graphics. Neff et al. (2011) influences the current inquiry to take a grounded approach due to these seven aspects and also in their explanation that a grounded approach is the best way to pursue study related to a complex phenomenon, such as the new media.

The current inquiry closely followed the processes in which Sullivan and Chermak (2012) used to conduct a content analysis rooted in grounded theory. Corruption is not a ready-made phenomenon, but exists through social interaction and individual theories of corruption promoted by the multiple actors in a society (Percepetu, 2007). Themes were developed through the identification of patterns in the data, which allowed for the inductive uncovering and understanding of meanings in the articles of the sample (Abrahamson, 1983). The development of inductive categories allowed the data interpretation to be grounded in the data and linked to prior theory and research (Sullivan & Chermak, 2012; Berg, 2007) as well as allowed for unpredicted themes to emerge. The presentation of the data uses specific quotations as examples in the analysis to illustrate the connections between the data and the codes (Sullivan & Chermak, 2012).

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis

The content analysis of the Ford Saga revealed that among the collected data, corruption and incompetence are constructed as key frames. These frames exist on their own, but also consist of overlap with the other frames. The *Toronto Star* discussed themes and implicated Ford in situations of prejudice (i.e., homophobia, race, religion, sexism and infidelity); money and finances; neglect for the law (i.e., law violation, lacking concern for the environment and political misconduct); and deviance (i.e., involvement in violence, criminal identity, criminal associates and abuse of alcohol and illicit substances). The *Toronto Star* journalists legitimized their framing of Ford through the use of not only their own voice, but through the representation of key stakeholders in society and their reactions to the Ford scandals. The three key stakeholders of society considered in the current inquiry (i.e., the media, members of governance and Ford), were presented by the media as creating their own opinions of Ford's behaviour. The main themes found within the articles contribute to the construction of the incompetence, corruption and criminal identity frames.

The inquiry predicted that the *Toronto Star* would represent Ford's behaviour as a result of his incompetence, corruption, and a mix of various levels of each frame. Glasser (1998) explains that researchers must keep an open mind to prevent their own biases from impeding the study. The current inquiry followed Glasser's (1998) recommendation to stay open-minded in the event that a frame not considered emerged within the data. A new frame subsequently emerged during the data analysis phase of the inquiry and discusses Ford's criminal identity in a way that does not relate to corruption or incompetence. This frame is a construction of Ford's criminal identity that does not

include crimes of power. Although corruption is considered a crime, the frames are differentiated by the element of status that exists in the type of offending. For the purposes of the current inquiry, corruption consists of white collar and high social status crimes, while criminal identity consists of crimes of middle to lower social status criminality.

The findings will be presented in a way that outlines the *Toronto Star's* representation of the three major stakeholders examined in the research. This includes the *Toronto Star's* representation of the media, the *Toronto Star's* representation of Ford's peers and members of governance, and the *Toronto Star's* representation of Ford's reaction to the scandals. The research process was qualitative in nature; however, the following table outlines the frequency of the implications associated with Ford's behaviour. The numbers are summarized according to the overall frame in all the articles associated with each event.

Table 2

General Implications for Ford's Behaviour in the Timeline Events

Implication	Number of Events
Incompetent	22
Corrupt	4
Both Incompetent and Corrupt	10
Criminal Identity	6
None	3

Note. The table summarizes the general implications in all the articles associated with the event.

Of the 45 events, all the articles in 22 of the events claimed that Ford's actions were because of his incompetency; all the articles in 4 of the events implied that Ford was corrupt; 10 of the events had articles that indicated Ford's behaviour was due to incompetency and corruption of varying degrees; 6 events claimed that Ford's actions were because of his criminal identity; and 3 of the events have reports that did not make any inferences regarding his behaviour related to the above categories. These numbers are based on the *Toronto Star* journalist's explicit inferences made regarding Ford's behaviour and ultimately the frames used to represent Ford as a political figure. The *Toronto Star* representation of journalist opinions were very similar to the representation of governance and Ford's peers.

The *Toronto Star*'s representation of the opinions members of governance hold are primarily reflective of the *Toronto Star* construction of media representative view of Ford. The *Toronto Star*'s construction of Ford's reactions are largely based in his incompetence, both intentionally and unintentionally. This primarily stems through Ford's denial of the guilty mind which represents premises of Sykes and Matza's (1957) techniques of neutralization theory that Benson (1985) applied to white collar criminals. Ford rationalizes his involvement and reactions to the scandals by making excuses and justifications to diminish the responsibility of his actions. These frames and their implications will be explored in greater detail in the sections to follow.

Journalist Narratives of the Ford Saga

The journalists projected their perceptions and frames of the Ford Saga onto their consumers through their narrative in the online news articles and by directly quoting journalists from the *Toronto Star* and other forms of media. The explicit media

representations and inferences regarding Ford's deviant behavior provides explanations indicating that Ford's behaviour is a result of his incompetence, corruption and criminal identity. Ford's deviant behaviour is represented as being scandalous and demonstrates the power of the media through the use of infotainment.

Incompetence

The *Toronto Star*'s framing of Ford's incompetence relates to Jo and Rothenberg's (2011) definition of incompetence in many aspects. Jo and Rothenberg (2011) explain that political incompetence stems from an individual in a position of political power lacking the necessary qualifications to be successful in their position. This results in great, yet unintentional, harm to society. The analysis concludes that the journalists of the *Toronto Star* believe Ford's incompetence is a result of his lack of intelligence, inability to exercise rationality and judgement, failure to consider the consequences of his actions and lack of skills necessary for his position as mayor.

The elaboration of Ford's alleged lack of intelligence is one of the aspects of his incompetence constructed explicitly by *Toronto Star* representatives. These statements are not limited to only one point in Ford's career, but emerge and progress throughout the entire Ford Saga. Ford's lack of intelligence was discussed on September 13, 2012. After Ford left a council meeting early to attend a high school football game, Royson stated:

He doesn't "get it" when it comes to appropriate behaviour of a public official. He is surrounded by too many people who embolden him and too few who can knock sense into his ample skull.

Similarly, eight months later in the Ford Saga, Ford's first reaction to the emergence of the alleged crack cocaine video was to ignore the situation and his second reaction was to deny his involvement with illicit substances. Royson stated on May 18, 2013 in regards to Ford's apparent lack of intelligence:

They knew Rob Ford was rough around the edges, a bit uncouth, unconventional and lacking finesse. But reckless and out of control -unable to stay out of trouble, day after day, lacking a filter that protects against stupidity? It's possible the video is made up, doctored. And, of course, you know you can't trust drug dealers. So, deny, deny, deny. Another day, another scandal. Enough already, Mr. Mayor, before social media explode over the latest idiot politician.

Near the end of the saga, the *Toronto Star* representation of Ford's lack of intelligence emerges in the conflict between Ford and *Toronto Star* journalist, Dale. This is particularly notable when Ford insinuated that Dale is a pedophile in an interview with Conrad Black. *Toronto Star* editor, Michael Cooke is quoted by Doolittle December 11, 2013 responding to Ford's claim:

Just when you think Mayor Ford has said the most stupid thing, such as letting the whole world know about his sex life at home, he tops himself with another outrage.

The notion of Ford's lack of intelligence prospers due to both Ford's physical and verbal actions. These events within the saga vary in depth and extremity, yet they receive the same conclusions by the journalist. Ford neglects his political duties, cannot take responsibility for his actions, fails to provide proper explanations for his behaviour and engages in scandalous activities because he is incompetent due to his lack of intelligence.

Ford's unconventional behaviour and incompetence is also constructed as being a result of his inability to adequately exercise proper rationality and judgment when completing personal and political tasks. On May 18, 2013, in response to Ford's denial of the video that allegedly recorded Ford smoking crack cocaine, DiManno wrote that there were numerous ways for Ford to react:

Scenario 1: It's a lie that has hurt me and my family.
Scenario 2: It's a lie and I am stepping down while the matter is investigated.
Scenario 3: I am a deeply flawed man and I need help.
Scenario 4: A lawyer's denunciation of "defamatory" allegations, a chortling "ridiculous" from the mayor and business as usual.
Ford picked Scenario 4.

DiManno outlines four possible techniques an individual could use in response to claims of deviance. The exhibition of scenarios allows journalists to promote themselves as defenders of moral order and agents of accountability for those who are in power (Vaidya, 2005). The first three techniques offered by DiManno consist of ways an individual with adequate judgment skills would react, regardless of whether they were admitting or denying the claims. The fourth scenario, which DiManno highlights as Ford's decision, displays Ford's incompetence through his failure to exercise proper judgment and understanding of damage control. The techniques use reasoning devices as a way to influence the public's perceptions of the political figure (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). DiManno appears to be attempting to inform the public on proper and improper ways to base their judgement of the actor and possible solutions to the problem.

Another example of DiManno's projection of Ford's lack of judgment is on March 27, 2013. Ford denied that he was intoxicated at a military gala and stated that he is a victim of media attacks:

Ford clearly puts the *Star* at the top of his most-hated list, as if we're out to ruin him, when every scandal has been the direct result of his own misbehaviour and poor judgement.

This quote outlines the ongoing conflict between Ford and the *Toronto Star* and the battle between the two entities regarding who is the most immoral. In this instance, the journalist is stating that Ford reconstructs events to make the *Toronto Star* appear malicious and immoral. DiManno explains that Ford is the one who is reconstructing events by denying that the media is reporting the truth about Ford's incompetent and unconventional behaviour. The journalist explicitly states that the media does not need to reconstruct events or attack Ford without reason. Ford's lack of judgement allows him to continuously be involved in scandal and fuel the media's enjoyment of newsworthy

events. Both parties are engaging in political battles and using the media as an attempt to communicate their opinions (Husselbee & Rliot, 2002). However, the journalist wins the battle as they are an influencer of media discourse and has the power to communicate their perceptions to the public.

Journalists of the *Toronto Star* also view Ford's continuous involvement in scandal throughout his political career as a result of his inability to properly consider the consequences of his actions. When considering the aftermath of Ford's denial of the crack cocaine video, *Toronto Star* staff wrote an editorial on May 22, 2013:

Meanwhile, Toronto has been thrust into the spotlight for all the wrong reasons - a laughingstock, along with its mayor - the unwitting subject of late-night comedians and media outlets ranging from CNN to the BBC. The fastest, cleanest way for Toronto to move forward would be for Ford to end the silent treatment and voluntarily leave office. If he cares at all for the city he is supposed to lead, the mayor will provide one last tangible service to the public and step down.

The newspaper staff believe that Ford is lacking the ability to consider the consequences of his actions and are certain that his actions harm members of the public. Although Ford may believe that there is no injury resulting from his attempts to avoid further implication in the scandal, the journalists emphasize that Ford is not competent enough to comprehend the damage his actions have on the reputation of the citizens he represents.

The capability to adequately occupy a position of power, such as mayor, in a large city is a skill the *Toronto Star* perceives Ford as significantly lacking. The inability to govern is viewed by journalists as a factor of Ford's incompetence. Following Ford's mysterious termination of his chief of staff, Dale and Benzie expressed their disdain for the decision on May 24, 2013 by stating:

Ford often more interested in returning constituents' phone calls than fulfilling the traditional duties of the city's chief executive, many councillors and civil servants saw Towhey as the man actually in charge of the municipal government.

Dale explains that Ford does not have the suitable skillset to be mayor. This is because he is unable to effectively prioritize his actions and political duties. Ford required a staff member to fulfill important political duties because Ford was occupied by less relevant tasks. Ford's dismissal of this individual further demonstrates the depth of the media's portrayal of Ford's incompetence as he is not perceived as comprehending that this individual was needed to keep the municipal government running.

Similarly, Ford's alleged incapability to be an effective governing figure was discussed after Ford ended his period of silence regarding the crack cocaine video allegations. On May 25, 2013 DiManno wrote:

That was profoundly tragic. And that's why Mayor Rob Ford said just about nothing for eight days. Because he's incapable, because he's stunningly erratic. Because the wiggle room between a lie and a denial is hair's-breadth narrow. Because there's nowhere to hide, not in obfuscating language, not in a flailing counter-attack at the *Toronto Star* that landed no punches. Because he is a man in ruins, drowning in the wreckage of a scandal that continues unabated. Because he needs help and won't take it.

DiManno's statement highlights her perception that Ford's incompetence is a result of his incapability to be a responsible mayor. A mayor must possess the proper skills to cope and address scandal allegations, whether they are true or false. A respectable mayor must also be willing to accept help when necessary. Ford does not possess either of these characteristics.

Another example cited by representatives of the *Toronto Star* illustrating Ford's lack of capability for the job as mayor considers Ford's physical appearance. After reports emerged that Ford was intoxicated at a military gala, Ford accused the media of falsifying his lack of sobriety. An editorial written March 27, 2013 following this event mentions Ford's physical incompetence:

Ford dismissed that, too, as a lie but a photo emerged showed him rumpled and stained - hardly an inspiring look for the leader of Canada's sixth largest government.

Ford's apparent substance abuse problem is not the only character flaw called into question. The editorial explains that Ford's physical appearance displays his inability to be a competent political figure. A power figure of a large city should be clean, well-kept and concerned about their reputation. Ford's behaviour and appearance are reflective of each other: untidy, reckless, and carefree.

The staff of the *Toronto Star* frame Ford as incompetent through journalist opinions and narrative on his lack of intelligence, inability to exercise rationality and judgement, failure to consider the consequences of his actions and lack of skills necessary for his position as mayor. The media also frames Ford as being a corrupt mayor.

Corruption

Corruption emerges as a frame among the explicit *Toronto Star* journalist constructions of Ford in the examined articles. Thompson (1993) explains that political corruption occurs when an individual uses their position of power for a gain that is personal instead of political. The journalists focus on Ford's dishonesty, his unethical behaviour and his abuse of power in their construction of corruption frames.

A political figure's dishonesty and the loss of trust by society in the political figure is an important element of the operationalizing of corruption. Ford's alleged dishonesty is highlighted throughout the articles associated with the Ford Saga event where Ford chased *Toronto Star* reporter, Daniel Dale, off the property behind Ford's home. The recollection of the events by Ford and Dale are quite different. On May 3, 2012, Rushowy wrote:

"Daniel Dale was on public property; he was never on Ford's property," said Toronto Star spokesman Bob Hepburn. "He was following up on a story when Ford came out of his house, off his property, and cornered Daniel, yelling at him. The mayor had his fist cocked, yelling at him to drop his cellphone and tape recorder, which Daniel did."

He said Dale stood on cinder blocks to snap the photos. "You know, it's over the top. You may not agree with my politics, don't start taking pictures of my family," Ford said of his long-standing conflict with the newspaper. "My wife's home, my kids are home." Dale said he was taking photos of the fence and trees with his cellphone.

There are two very different accounts of the events that took place during the interaction between Ford and Dale. Ford's version of the event consists of Dale standing on cinder blocks so that he could take pictures of Ford's children over the fence. Dale states that he was taking pictures of the fence and the trees until Ford aggressively emerged from his home. During conflict, journalists have the last word as they are the ones writing about the accounts of the events (Sauvageau, Schneiderman, & Taras, 2006). The journalists who published the recollection of this event use their power to slant the report in a way that supports the media representative. The authors describe Ford's account as containing inaccurate components, while Dale is an innocent victim to Ford's rage.

Ford's apparent dishonesty is further exemplified by the *Toronto Star* when Dale discussed Ford's justification for wanting to expand his property line. Dale wrote on May 3 2012:

The property, located in the Humber River valley but not in its flood plain, is about 2,800 square feet - 56 feet by 50 feet. While the Fords referred to it as "a vacant parcel of land" in the letter, Dillane said it is actually a sliver of parkland that includes mature trees and is managed by the parks department.

Ford's dishonesty is displayed in his explanation of the current use of the land he wishes to purchase. Ford is portrayed as being dishonest about the current use of the land and lacking environmental concern by wishing to purchase land that houses trees and parkland. Ford is viewed as preferring to use his position of power and economic

standing to purchase property and cut down trees than protect the health of Toronto's environment.

The dishonesty portion of the corruption frame demonstrates media reconstructions of definitions (Entman, 1993). Ford's dishonesty is highlighted throughout the Ford Saga as an element of both corruption and incompetence frames. Dishonesty is not an element of the definitions or operationalizing of incompetence, but emerges as an important aspect of the frame. The exposure of Ford's dishonesty confirms Vaidya's (2005) research on journalists attempting to be the seekers of truth and morality in the political sphere. The journalists of the *Toronto Star* create a heroic self-identity and project the identity onto the public. They maintain that without the journalists, the truth about Ford's past and present involvement in scandal would not be made public.

Another aspect of Thompson's (1993) definition of corruption that representatives of the *Toronto Star* use in the Ford Saga is the illustration of Ford's alleged lack of integrity and ethical code. Ford's conflict of interest case sparked much media discussion about his seemingly corrupt actions. Dale wrote on November 27, 2012, after Ford lost the initial conflict of interest case:

It all could have been avoided if Rob Ford had used a bit of common sense and if he had played by the rules.

An editorial also written November 27, 2012 concludes:

Here's a sentence worth underlining: "The Mayor of Toronto has many responsibilities, pressures, and functions, but perhaps the greatest is providing leadership for integrity in government." That word - "integrity" - captures what's fundamentally missing from Ford's leadership. The evidence is everywhere. When Ford presses city employees to work on behalf of his family's company, when he bullies managers who dare to disagree, and sets coaching high school football ahead of his public duties, even to the point of putting city staff and resources at the disposal of his team, it shows an absence of integrity. That's also apparent when Ford's administration tries packing public appointments with cronies while attempting to discourage minority applicants. The same lack of integrity stands at

the root of Ford's failure to acknowledge an obvious conflict and then blaming his downfall on others.

The first quote highlights Ford's inability to follow procedure and maintain a valid ethical code. The authors of the second quote attempt to amplify Ford's corruption in his conflict of interest case by mentioning various corruption scandals that had occurred before the current event. The common element in both of these quotes is that Ford's corruption stems from his lack of integrity. They believe that neither Ford nor his staff possess the necessary morality and mindset to be leaders of any given society.

The journalists of the *Toronto Star* dedicated much effort within the Ford corruption discourse to emphasizing Ford's tendency to abuse his power and misuse city hall resources. Ford is found to be corrupt by journalists when they write about Ford using his position of power to gain resources for the football team he coaches. On September 13, 2012, Royson stated:

... the mayor uses his city-paid staff, cars, and cellphones to administer elements of the youth football teams he coached... Anyone who has dispassionately examined the mayor knows this: He doesn't care what anybody thinks. He has a nose for trouble. He thumbs his nose at the world. And he is still that rich kid from north Etobicoke who gets away with bullying those around him, because he can.

Royson explains that Ford misused his position of power and office staff to complete tasks that are personal rather than political. Ford's volunteer position is for his own personal gain and not a part of his official duties. Ford's staff and city hall resources, which are financed through the city budget and ultimately taxpayer money, are meant to benefit the city and its citizens. Royson demonstrates Vaidya's (2005)'s claims about the media as Royson demonstrates the hypocritical nature of Ford. Ford's platform was dedicated to ending corruption and money waste at city hall, yet he is using the

taxpayer's money to illegitimately fund a service that Royson believes is not necessary for the function of the city.

Ford's scandal filled career resulted in the loss of many staff members. Some of this loss was not by the choice of the staff members themselves, but through the decision of Ford and his apparent electoral malpractice. On May 24, 2013, DiManno wrote about Ford's alleged misuse of power:

Towhey got his ticket punched for telling the Ford's what they didn't want to hear; what even the mayor's staunchest allies are now urging: Man up, Mr. Mayor.

Dale on June 11, 2013 also writes about Ford's purported misuse of power in his removal of staff from office:

Mayor Rob Ford has an all-male executive committee after a Monday leadership shuffle in which he demoted two councillors who have challenged him over his alleged substance use.

Both of these events allow the *Toronto Star* journalists to explain that Ford abuses his power to rid himself of those who challenge him and those who attempt to bring forth ideas with which he disagrees. The corruption appears to delve even deeper when the representation of Ford as a misogynist emerges as Ford utilized his position to demote the last woman on his team. Ford's reasoning could have differed, but the journalists did not provide Ford with the opportunity to explain his actions. This again demonstrates the power of the last word (Sauvageau et al., 2006) and the way the description of an event can be inaccurately constructed without proper evidence (Entman, 1993).

In the representation of media perceptions of Ford, Ford is framed as corrupt through examples of his dishonesty, his unethical behaviour and abuse of power in

various points of the saga. The *Toronto Star* also frames Ford's behaviour as being attributed to his criminal identity.

Criminal Identity

The *Toronto Star* representatives discussed some elements of Ford's behaviour through the deviance discourse that did not fit within the corruption or incompetence frames. The behaviour provoked explanations associating Ford with the criminal underworld and a criminal identity. This is apparent through journalist exemplification of Ford's violation of the law and his relationships with convicted criminals.

The journalists of the *Toronto Star* framed Ford as having a criminal identity through his tendencies to violate the law and engage in criminal activities. For example, the *Toronto Star* representatives discovered that Ford received a criminal conviction when he was a young adult. This occurred far before he became a political representative, but received heightened attention during a Ford Saga event where Ford is framed as corrupt. In this event, Ford is viewed as a corrupt individual for leaving a city hall meeting to coach a football game. The two events are not related, yet Royson attempts to also establish a criminal connection to street level offences and crimes associated with middle to lower-class citizens within his article on September 13, 2012:

He was busted for possession and caught drinking while driving in Florida. He lied about it when the Toronto Sun confronted him. But the voters forgave him and made him mayor. As mayor, he is caught driving and using his phone, but is not sorry at all, ignoring the danger. He is caught reading city documents while driving - and rebuffs efforts from staff and the police to get him a chauffeur. Now this.

Ford ignoring his political duties in order to fulfill personal tasks does not warrant discussion related to a criminal identity. However, his criminal identity is established and constructed as being part of a series of scandals through discussion of Ford's involvement

in deviant and dangerous activities. The current event is not overly newsworthy, so the criminal frame is reinforced with newsworthy scandals of the past (Sacco, 1995).

After the police released their 500 page document to the media confirming the existence of the crack cocaine video and an investigation involving Ford, speculation is made regarding Ford's criminality. DiManno on November 2, 2013 stated:

Now we know why Mayor Rob Ford refused to have an official driver. Who would want a chauffeur at the wheel - with long ears and beady eyes - during all those mystifying late-night peregrinations around the city: pulling over in parking lots, gas stations, Tim Hortons, near high schools; the rambles down isolated pathways, left strewn with empty vodka bottles and juice boxes? Who would want a witness - insufficiently trustworthy - to twitchy transactions, packages and manila envelopes exchanged between a chief magistrate and his bagman, content of the goods unknown, though bird-dogging cops noted the behaviour certainly suggested criminal activity?

In this example, DiManno reconstructs the legitimate meanings associated with various activities to being of a criminal nature. The construction of a criminal identity is then projected onto the public to influence public understanding of neutral behaviours (Ehrat, 2011). The police document does not provide tangible evidence proving that Ford committed a series of crimes when he was exchanging envelopes or present in the listed places. By having a criminal element associated with Ford's behaviour, the journalist is able to articulate a story that was far more exciting than Ford completing errands and engaging in other legitimate activities.

Ford's criminal identity is also constructed through journalist emphasis on Ford's association with criminals. This construct emerges primarily throughout the latter half of Ford's career as mayor. On May 28, 2013, after two key members of Ford's staff resigned, Rider, Benzie and Dale wrote:

Rob Ford's mayoralty slipped deeper into chaos Monday as his top communications aides walked out and he replaced one with a political staffer sources say was fired from his 2010 mayoral campaign over a drug allegation.

Amidst the scandal surrounding the allegations made against Ford during the loss of members of his team, the journalists emphasize Ford's decision to hire an individual who was removed from a previous political position due to drug accusations. This assists in creating an image of Toronto's governance being annexed by criminals.

Ford's association with criminals is also discussed on October 3, 2013. This event consists of the arrest of Alexander Lisi and his connection with Ford. Royson stated:

This time, police busted the mayor's long-time friend, occasional driver and alleged drug-dealing associate and charged him with possession, trafficking and conspiracy to commit an indictable offence.

Royson, as well as many of the other *Toronto Star* journalists reporting on this event, dedicate much attention to discussing Lisi's previous arrests and convictions.

Furthermore, the journalists emphasize Ford's companionship with Lisi by referring to him as Ford's friend and employee. This strengthens the image of Ford allowing criminals to assist in the daily function of Toronto's government, but also implies that Ford must too be involved in criminal activities if he is spending time with those involved in the criminal underworld.

The *Toronto Star's* description of Ford's criminal identity further demonstrates Chermak (1997), Entman (1993) and Phillip's (1997) research on the media's manipulation of definitions. The criminal identity frame, similar to the incompetence and corruption frame, uses dishonesty as an important element. Dishonesty is not a common factor in the definitions of the three major frames, however, the *Toronto Star* uses it in the construction of the frames.

Infotainment

White collar crime is often constructed by the media in a way that is scandalous and entertaining, resulting in a series of crimes to be connected and transformed longitudinally into a grand story (Levi, 2006). Infotainment is a common element that emerges throughout the Ford Saga to reinforce the various frames used, but also as a means to promote the longevity of the attention paid to Ford. Some *Toronto Star* journalists chose to make light of the scandalous situations associated with Toronto's mayor and include areas of humour, sarcasm and popular culture within their writing. For example, after allegations of the crack cocaine video emerged, DiManno wrote on May 22, 2013:

They tried to make me go to rehab I said, No, no, no.
This is a lyric from a song by Amy Winehouse. Winehouse was an individual who publically struggled with substance abuse until it was the cause of her death. The use of the lyrics associates the entertainment value of music to Ford and the addiction problems that have been speculated upon throughout his career as mayor. It also ties to previous themes as the statement indicates Ford's struggle with substance abuse. Ford refuses to accept help for his problems that could lead to major consequences that parallel those experienced by Winehouse.

Shortly after the crack video allegations, infotainment is used by *Toronto Star* journalists when Ford fired his chief of staff. DiManno wrote on May 24, 2013:

Really, the city hall press corps should invest in flak jackets and helmets. It's become a combat zone front line. INCOMING!

Additionally, Oved stated in the same regard on May 24, 2013:

Wanted: Thick-skinned staffer to take on drug scandal at centre of worldwide media circus. Long hours of complete silence. Must be able to stage manage gaffe-prone boss. Recognition doubtful even in the event of success.

As the Ford Saga began to unfold with one scandal continuously following the next, the reporters did not appear to be writing as a means to solely communicate the information to the public. This event exists midway through the timeline and journalists are increasing the reward that readers receive from consulting the *Toronto Star* as a source for news. The consumers are taking away an amused mood through the humorous construction of the repetitive involvement of Ford in scandal and his unconventional means of coping with the scandals. This is not the first situation Ford is seen as reacting with rage and it is not constructed as the last.

The use of the information surrounding Ford's illegitimate behaviour demonstrates the sensational nature of crime and scandal for not only news, but entertainment (Dowler et al., 2006; Levi, 2006). The public became very interested in the scandal which allowed for extensive and long-term coverage of Ford. The coverage and popularity surrounding the antics of the mayor transformed him from being perceived as an ordinary politician into a celebrity in trouble. The frames used in the *Toronto Star's* explicit media construction of Ford are further strengthened through the use of Ford's peers and members of governance.

Constructing Governance Perspectives

The journalists of the *Toronto Star* include direct quotations from and make reference to discourse among the politically elite. Chermak (1997) explains that the media strengthens their frames through the use of statements by key stakeholders and powerful individuals in society. For the current inquiry, peers and members of governance are considered to be those who hold various positions on the political power

spectrum, such as members of government, law enforcement agents, City Hall employees and influential members of the advocacy sector.

Incompetence

Jo and Rothenberg's (2011) definition of incompetence is present in the *Toronto Star* constructions of governance perspectives regarding Ford's behaviour. The incompetence frame in this regard strengthens the validity of the *Toronto Star*'s construction of Ford as the elements are confirmed through the opinions of respectable individuals (Chermak, 1997). This includes Ford's lack of intelligence, absence of rationality and judgement, inability to consider the consequences of his actions and deficient skills to effectively do his job.

Journalists of the *Toronto Star* cited councillor disdain for Ford and his lack of intelligence to reinforce constructions of Ford's incompetence. After the crack cocaine video was confirmed as real, Moloney and Mendelson included a statement by Councillor Luby in their news report on November 1, 2013:

"It's not a game anymore," she said. "This is real life and its real people that are involved here."

Similarly, Councillor Peter Milczyn also made a statement regarding Ford lacking the intelligence to adequately respond to scandal. Milczyn is quoted by Dale November 16, 2013 after Ford had his powers reduced by council:

"They're making a joke out of it. It's disgraceful. Obviously, he and his brother thought it was funny to joke about. I just think it's disgraceful"

The two cites display to the public that some councillors believe Ford lacks the necessary intelligence to comprehend the seriousness and unacceptability of his continuous involvement in scandal. Journalists use reasoning devices to assist in shaping consumer judgement of events and phenomenon (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). In these examples,

the journalists are appealing to morality by explaining that powerful individuals do not believe Ford is reacting in a socially acceptable manner.

Another aspect of incompetence included in the *Toronto Star*'s representation of governance perceptions is view that Ford is unable to exercise adequate rationality and judgment. Opinions regarding Ford's alleged irrational thought process and judgment skills are discussed when Ford is photographed neglecting the law by driving distracted. Sargent Tim Burrows, social media officer and former spokesperson for the traffic services unit, wrote a response to the incident on the official police Facebook page. Dale quoted Burrows on August 15, 2012:

"On behalf of all the citizens of Toronto that value road safety, Mr. Mayor ... please get a driver. It is obvious that you are busy enough to require one and no amount of money you are saving by not having one is worth the life of one of your citizens,"

Husselbee and Rliot (2002) and Gurevitch and Levy (1985) explain that institutions attempt to use the media as a mode of sending messages to the public and gaining public support. In this example, the police representative is concerned about Ford's actions and explains to the public that his rationale for not hiring a driver is extremely negligent. The decision to not have a driver could lead to consequences that are far more costly to the city than the salary of a driver. Instead of having a private discussion with Ford about his actions and the police department's concern, Burrows chose to use social media to make Internet users aware of Ford's poor decisions. This appears to be an attempt to publically create disdain for Ford and gain support for an institution that is concerned about the well-being of citizens. This message reaches a larger audience as the *Toronto Star* journalist included the citation in his report.

Another example of Ford's incompetence through the apparent failure to exercise rationale and judgement appears in the *Toronto Star* construction of Ford's appeal to the conflict of interest decision. Councillor John Filton is quoted by Gillis after Ford won the appeal on January 26, 2013:

"The mayor has two ways to go. One is reposition himself as consensus builder and go into the next election that way. Or he can position himself where he naturally is, and say: 'I can't get anything done because council are a bunch of lefties and traitors and you need to re-elect me and a new council.' And I think he'll probably do the latter."

The journalist chose to highlight a statement by an influential member of society who explains that Ford does not express proper rationality in his decisions. Councillor Filton believes that Ford repeatedly denies his guilty mind by displacing the blame associated with his actions onto others. Filton expresses this conclusion in the form of a scenario to express to consumers that Ford was not limited in his decisions. There were other more appropriate ways for Ford to act, such as accept responsibility and shift his attitudes in a different direction.

The journalists of the *Toronto Star* also emphasize governance views of Ford's incompetence by discussing the harmful, yet unintentional consequences that stem from Ford's inability to consider the consequences of his actions. After the crack cocaine video was confirmed as real, Councillor Ana Bailao is quoted November 1, 2013 by Moloney and Mendelson:

"He should take some time away to reflect and give some space to the city as well" "This obviously has a huge impact on the reputation of our city"

Furthermore, in the saga event where Dale files a libel suit against Ford, Alamenciak and McKnight, December 19, 2013 quote Councillor Pam McConnell's perception of Ford's inability to consider the consequences associated with his actions:

“The mayor has become very reckless both physically and verbally, around smearing or harming or endangering people’s lives”

In the above examples, two different councillors are quoted at two different points in the Ford Saga. Both councillors believe that Ford did not intend for there to be harmful consequences associated with his behaviour. Ford did not predict that his negative reputation, inappropriate behaviour when socializing with friends and statements made abruptly in the heat of the moment would damage the reputation of Canadian citizens. Ford is a representative of the people of the city and his decision to ignore the consequences of his actions are becoming numerous and inappropriately repetitive.

Ford’s capability to be mayor is another element included in the *Toronto Star* representation of governance views of Ford’s incompetence. Ford’s inability to properly exercise himself as mayor is discussed after Ford won his conflict of interest appeal.

Gillis quotes Councillor Giorgio Mammoliti on January 26, 2013:

"I think the mayor needs to do a few things. I've said to him you've got to start acting like a mayor. The sideshows have to finish. I said to him, you've got to start dressing like a mayor as well..."

A few months after Ford’s victory in the conflict of interest case, allegations of the crack cocaine video emerged. The leader of the advocacy group, Eagle Canada, Helen Kennedy is quoted by Dale and Rider on May 18, 2013 speaking about the skills Ford does not possess:

“If the mayor is not educated, and he’s not informed around issues of diversity and social inclusion, then I think he’s not fit to serve”

These two quotes are in response to different events in the Ford Saga, but they both draw similar conclusions. These influential individuals believe that Ford is not capable of holding the position of mayor as he is lacking the skills necessary to be an effective representative of a large Canadian city. This includes his inability to appreciate all

members of his society, his inability to properly cope with scandal and his disregard for a professional appearance and personality.

The *Toronto Star* uses representations of members of governance in their framing of Ford as incompetent. This includes citizens who make up law enforcement agencies, local government, city hall staff and representatives of leading advocacy groups. The use of influential citizens in media representations strengthens the frames used by the media (Chermak, 1997) regarding Ford's incompetence. The *Toronto Star* also uses governance representatives to strengthen the corruption frame.

Corruption

The *Toronto Star* creates representations of governance in their articles to strengthen elements of the corruption frame. This includes rhetoric about Ford's alleged dishonesty; lack of integrity and a valid ethical code; and electoral malpractice and misuse of power.

The first element of Thompson's (1993) definition that the *Toronto Star* uses to strengthen their corruption frame is declarations of Ford's dishonesty. This is expressed through the representation of councillor reactions to allegations of the crack cocaine scandal. Councillor, Josh Matlow, is quoted by Dale on May 25, 2013 after Ford ended his silent response to the crack cocaine video allegations:

Some observers noted Ford's use of the present tense, "I do not," for his denial of crack use. Council centrist Josh Matlow, who has grown critical of Ford, wrote on Twitter: "Once I've completed writing this I will honestly be able to say that I am not writing this."

Matlow analyzes Ford's careful selection of discourse and concludes that Ford's denial of the use of illicit substances was untruthful. This is very similar to the premises of framing theory (Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007) as Ford constructed his denial by omitting details

from the past and carefully wording his denial in a way that answers questions about the truth of the present.

Ford's alleged dishonesty is also discussed through *Toronto Star* interpretation of a police document. After the existence of the crack cocaine video was confirmed, Royson on November 1, 2013 wrote:

Shortly after 10 a.m., more than 400 pages of released court documents made a liar out of Ford and left citizens asking why the mayor of Toronto spent so much time cavorting with a known drug dealer, woman abuser and convict - in dark corners, in empty parking lots, in washrooms, often near his Etobicoke home.

Royson implies that the police document establishes a true association between Ford and criminal activity. He posits that Ford must be involved in criminal activities as one cannot associate with criminals without engaging in crime. Ehrat (2011) explains that an event is neutral, even if a crime takes place, until the media reports the event as a scandal. Furthermore, Entman (1993) explains that at times the media does not need to make connections between events and frames as the prior and repetitive use of frames can lead consumers to interpret neutral information to fit within previously established stereotypes. Ford's engagement in the mentioned activities are legitimate, yet Royson transforms them into illegitimate and scandalous actions. The journalist creates assumptions and does not critically consider that Ford could have been running errands near his home at the same time as a deviant individual. The overuse of Ford's criminal identity throughout the saga can lead consumers to automatically assume that Ford must be engaging in crime without having the journalist imply this speculation.

The Ford corruption frame is emphasized through journalist cites of governance discussions of Ford's unethical behaviour. When the conflict of interest case was launched against Ford, Doolittle quotes lawyer, Ruby, March 13, 2012:

It's because if you don't catch conflict of interest (on) the small things - and this is not that small - there's a real danger that you will in fact encourage corruption on a wider scale."

An individual who has the ability to capture the attention of the media has the chance to influence public discourse (Husselbee & Rliot, 2002; Gurevitch & Levy, 1985). The lawyer believes that unprosecuted acts of corruption can lead to corruption on a larger level. He explains that Ford's unethical behaviour and involvement in this conflict of interest case was not a minor act. Consequently, Ruby creates the implication that Ford has engaged in many other corrupt acts. Ruby attempts to use the media as a means to frame Ford as inherently corrupt and influence the public discourse about the conflict of interest case and Ford's character.

Kalinowski and Dale on November 3, 2012 attempt to emphasize the incompetence frame by discussing Ford's apparent unethical behaviour. They attempt to connect two separate events. These events include Ford being reprimanded by council for making unjust claims and Ford's staff removing citizens off of city transit for the football team Ford coaches:

...decision on whether to reprimand him for calling the chief medical officer's salary an "embarrassment" and declining to apologize.

Kalinowski and Dale are discussing Ford's staff removing citizens from public transit so that the service could be used solely for the students Ford coaches. They chose to make the incident appear to be more dramatic and establish Ford's disregard for those in Toronto by mentioning that Ford's unconventional behaviour was scrutinized by council earlier that day. This is an attempt to make the event more newsworthy and amplify the deviance construction (Sacco, 1995).

The *Toronto Star* journalists highlight speculation and insight into Ford's alleged electoral malpractice and misuse of power provided by individuals involved in Toronto's politics. After Ford left a city hall meeting early to attend a football game, Dale, September 12, 2012 stated:

His work habits have been criticized by his political opponents, one of whom, Councillor Adam Vaughan, has called him a "part-time mayor." "He's not being paid to coach football, and he's not being paid to campaign. He's being paid to be the mayor,"

Dale explains that council members are unhappy with Ford's electoral malpractice. Ford is continuing to accept the income associated with being a full time mayor, while only working minimal hours. This action is perceived as corrupt because Ford is thought to be stealing from the taxpayers. Ford is not performing the duties or putting in enough hours for the compensation he is receiving.

Another example of political representatives allegedly viewing Ford as corruption through the misuse of power is represented by Doolittle. Doolittle quotes a police document November 1, 2013 that recorded Ford's apparent reaction to police surveillance:

"Provost further advised that Mayor Ford is getting angry at Provost because he can't give him what he wants," the document said. It continued: "I believe that the above attempts by Provost to obtain registration details for Mayor Ford clearly indicate that Mayor Ford is utilizing his position and the powers of the Office of the Mayor, to obtain information not available to regular citizens."

The portion of the document included in Doolittle's article outlines police belief that Ford is corrupt through his attempt to gain access to confidential information. These assumptions have not been confirmed in a court of law and should not be considered fact until proper procedure is followed and evidence is provided.

Toronto Star reporters also illustrate Ford's misuse of power by citing a police document that contains accounts from Ford's staff members regarding Ford's deviant behaviour. Donovan, November 14, 2013 wrote:

One former staffer, Chris Fickel, told police he frequently had to buy vodka - it was always the Iceberg brand - for Ford. Fickel said other staffers including Nico Fidani, Kia Nejatian, Michael Prempeh, Amin Massoudi and Isaac Shirokoff also purchased vodka for Ford when the mayor asked.

Donovan relays the information presented in the police document to consumers. The assumption is made that Fickel, who has minimal power, is credible (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Fickel and other staffers are paid to assist the mayor in his political duties and ensure that the city is adequately run. Staffers are not paid to run personal errands for the mayor, especially when they involve behaviour that should not be taking place in City Hall. The reliability of the information should be taken into consideration as it is solely an account, not confirmed facts. The information has been passed from a Ford staffer to a police officer, transcribed into a document and then written about by a journalist. This leaves a large margin for miscommunication or error.

The *Toronto Star* used representations of Ford's staff, police documents and members of local governance to strengthen their frames of corruption. These individuals are also represented as having the perception that Ford has a criminal identity.

Criminal Identity

The *Toronto Star* makes reference to members of governance to validate their construction of Ford's criminality to the public. Elements of the frame include Ford's criminal identity through the witness of criminal actions and Ford's association with criminals.

Ford's criminal identity is strengthened by the *Toronto Star* through accounts of Ford's alleged engagement in crime and violation of the law. This includes recollections by those who are city hall staff members or are in a position of power through local governance. After Lisi was arrested by Toronto Police for his involvement in criminal activity and Ford defended Lisi's honour, Donovan, October 2, 2013 wrote:

Lisi has told three associates he has supplied drugs to the mayor. Chermak (1997) explains that the media uses powerful individuals and their opinions to validate their frames. However, this is not the case in the present example. This statement displays how members of the media also use comments made by less legitimate individuals to strengthen their frames (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). These accounts may be extremely vivid, but should not be trusted as they are not from credible sources (Sieff, 2003). Donovan is assuming that Lisi is being truthful in his account of supplying drugs to the mayor. The articles that discuss Lisi make a thorough effort in establishing a connection between Lisi and the criminal underworld. Lisi is constructed as a deviant and untrustworthy individual who should not be a close associate of the mayor. Therefore, no matter how exciting and newsworthy Lisi's claims may be, they should not be considered as fact.

Another example of the construction of Ford's criminal identity though the apparent engagement in crime is explained through a recollection of one of Ford's staff members. On November 14, 2013 Donovan wrote that a police document contains interviews with Ford staff where they state that Ford engaged in illegitimate behaviour while in office:

According to Fickel, "the mayor pulled his car over (likely at a high school, was Fickel's recollection) and grabbed an LCBO paper bag from in front of the passenger seat which contained a fresh bottle of vodka and drank the 11 or 12 oz.

mickey in one-two minutes going back and forth with a Gatorade." Fickel said he got out of the Escalade soon after and Ford kept driving. Fickel noted to detectives that Ford quickly became "rambling and incoherent" after drinking.

This example establishes Ford's criminal identity by quoting statements made by former staff members who had allegedly witnessed Ford engaging in middle to lower class crimes. These crimes confirm the substance abuse frame the media has projected onto Ford. The journalist further highlights the severe consequences associated with Ford's substance abuse problems as his behaviour could endanger the lives of citizens and visitors to Toronto. The account is extremely vivid and confirms the criminal identity frame constructed by the media. However, information retrieved from less credible sources who confirm media frames should be considered critically (Sieff, 2003). The individual speaking out could have motives that provide him with reward for falsifying or exaggerating his accounts.

Another element of Ford's criminal identity used in the representation of governance perspectives is Ford's alleged association with criminals. A police document was a source used to establish connections between the criminal underworld and Ford. For example, a photograph emerged during the Ford Saga picturing Ford standing in front of a bungalow with alleged gang members. On October 24, 2013, Poisson and Donovan explained that a police document states:

The bungalow is home to the Basso family, including Ford friend Fabio Basso and his sister, convicted cocaine trafficker Elena Johnson.

A month later, Ford's criminal associations are also speculated on after the crack cocaine video was confirmed by police as real. Bruser and McLean stated on November 1, 2013 that a police document alleges:

Security footage shows Ford heading to the station's bathroom. Meanwhile, Lisi arrived in his Range Rover. Police say they watched Lisi go to the back of his

vehicle and place something inside a manila envelope. At that point, the police account says, Lisi enters the Esso shop and "searches around the refrigerators," before picking up a few Gatorades and a bag of chips. Lisi left the store. Security cameras caught him standing near the mayor's vehicle, holding the envelope. "Lisi then took the envelope and placed it in the passenger side of Mayor Ford's vehicle, while Mayor Ford was inside the gas station kiosk,"

The two examples imply that Ford's presence at a gas station at the same time as a re-occurring criminal character in the Ford Saga and Ford's presence in front of a home that belongs to a deviant family means that Ford is involved in criminal activity. The police document outlines the interaction between Ford and deviant individuals; therefore, the journalist concludes that the document provides proof that the mayor is a criminal.

However, the portions of the police document that the media has access to do not provide speculation about Ford's involvement in crime. The document only discusses Ford's presence in certain settings with deviant individuals. Without proper evidence, such as confirming the contents of the envelope for example, there is no definitive way to truly determine Ford's criminality. The envelope could contain paperwork or other contents that are related to the legitimate aspects of Ford and Lisi's professional relationship.

The *Toronto Star* representation of governance constructions is very similar to the journalist narratives and explicit *Toronto Star* representations of Ford. Stakeholders in society use the media as a way to influence public discourse by communicating their messages to the public (Husselbee & Rliot, 2002; Gurevitch & Levy, 1985). Similarly, the media uses the opinions of stakeholders in the community to strengthen their frames. The *Toronto Star* presents the members of governance as engaging with the media to demonstrate political competence and offer solutions regarding Ford's illegitimate and taboo activities. These solutions and demonstrations of competence correspond with the

representations created explicitly by the *Toronto Star* to demonstrate Ford's incompetent, corrupt and criminal identities.

Denying the Guilty Mind

Ford's perceptions of his involvement in the various scandals are represented in at least one article associated with more than half of the events in the saga. The construction of Ford's reaction to his own behaviour and his attempt to maintain a noncriminal identity fits within many of the premises of Sykes and Matza's (1957) techniques of neutralization and Benson's (1985) denying the guilty mind theory. This includes Ford condemning the condemners, the denial of responsibility and the denial of injury.

Overwhelmingly within the characterizations of Ford's self-concept is his victim status. The way in which *Toronto Star* journalists frame Ford's neutralization of his actions and his claims of victimization fit within Sykes and Matza's (1957) premise that deviant beings condemn the condemners to distance themselves from the guilt associated with their actions. On March 9, 2013, many journalists of the *Toronto Star* were captivated by Sarah Thompson's accusation that Ford sexually assaulted her. Rider cited Ford's reaction to the claim:

What is more surprising is that a woman who has aspired to be a civic leader would cry wolf on a day where we should be celebrating women across the globe.

Two months later, Ford expressed his frustration with the growing amount of media inquiries regarding the alleged crack cocaine video and called the media maggots. On May 27, 2013 *Toronto Star* staff quoted Ford:

No matter what you say, I found out, to the media, you're never going to make them happy. You can give them 10 bars of gold and they're going to want - why don't I give 15 bars of gold? Well, you know what, folks, that's the media that we have, unfortunately

These two examples characterize Ford as viewing himself as a victim of the media and other politician's need to gain increased attention and financial worth. Ford condemns Sarah Thompson for condemning him as he posits there are more pressing issues at hand that could earn her greater publicity than the use of false accusations. Ford condemns the media for condemning him by stating that no matter how much information he provides the media, the representatives will continue to be overcome with greed and continuously want more.

Another aspect of Sykes and Matza's (1957) neutralization theory is the denial of responsibility. After the crack cocaine video was confirmed as real by Toronto police, Ford is presented by the *Toronto Star* as denying the responsibility of his actions. On November 1, 2013, Donovan quoted Ford:

I'm going to go back and return my phone calls. I'm going to be out doing what the people elected me to do and that's save taxpayers money and run a great government that we've been running for the last three years.

The journalist construction of Ford's denial of responsibility is present in Ford's displacement of attention away from the mistakes he has made towards the good he has done for society. Instead of confronting the scandal and admitting to his faults, Ford chose to highlight his ability to competently do his job. This also appears to be an attempt to evade the corruption claims that were implied in previous events about him neglecting his political duties while collecting a salary. Ford states that he will not waste his salary by spending time speaking with reporters and defending himself. He would prefer to be paid to spend his time fulfilling his mayor duties.

Shortly after the confirmation of the crack cocaine video and the months of Ford denying the video's existence, Dale wrote on November 5, 2013 that Ford stated:

Yes, I have smoked crack cocaine ... But no, do I, am I an addict? No. Have I tried it? Probably in one of my drunken stupors, probably approximately about a year ago. I answered your question. You ask the question properly, I'll answer it. Yes, I've made mistakes. All I can do now is apologize and move on.

Dale also critiqued Ford in the article:

And he said he could not recall the circumstances or the exact date of the incident he did admit to - because it happened "probably in one of my drunken stupors." "I don't even remember," he said. "Some of the stuff that you guys have seen me, the state I've been in? It's a problem."

The journalist constructs Ford as an individual who denies the responsibility of his actions in many different ways after the truth about the crack cocaine video emerges.

First, when Ford is accused of being dishonest for not admitting to his involvement in the scandal, he places the responsibility away from himself and onto others. Ford states that he would have been truthful from the start of the allegations had the correct questions been asked. Second, Ford attempts to deny the responsibility associated with his actions and evade a corrupt label by claiming that he is incompetent. This is described by Benson (1985) as an excuse. Ford does not only attempt to deny his guilty mind to ease his conscience, but to reduce the stigma assigned to him by members of the public. He explains that the intoxicated condition in which alcohol left him is the reason he was engaging in deviant behaviour. He could not be in control of his actions or use rational thought processes due to his diminished, and ultimately incompetent, state of mind.

Some *Toronto Star* journalists frame Ford's denial by using his view that he is a hero in some of the scandals. This is where Sykes and Matza's (1957) denial of injury emerges as a technique of Benson's (1985) denying the guilty mind. An example of Ford's denial of injury occurred when Ford was absent from Toronto's pride week because he was visiting his family's cottage. Maloney on June 23, 2011, quoted Ford:

...it's a long-standing Canada Day tradition for the Ford family.

Ford did not perceive himself as a deviant being who was purposely avoiding the empowerment of minority groups within the society he represents. Ford explains that he is an individual who understands the importance of maintaining strong family values.

Ford's denial of injury also emerged when he reacted to the cell phone video that captured him severely intoxicated in an unknown living room ranting, swearing, and making violent threats. Ford admitted that he made a mistake, but followed up with a denial. Donovan and Bruser quoted Ford November 8, 2013:

All I can say is, again, I've made mistakes. I just wanted to come out and tell you I saw a video. It's extremely embarrassing. The whole world's going to see it. You know what? I don't have a problem with that.

The *Toronto Star* displays Ford's use of denial of injury as a technique to deny his guilty mind and further demonstrates Ford's incompetence. Ford does not see the harm attached to global citizens viewing this video and consuming the media reports surrounding the video. Ford's incompetence prevents him from understanding that the negative opinions citizens around the globe will and already have constructed about him are pertinent. These perceptions, consequently, influence the reputations of the citizens of Toronto, Ontario and Canada.

The last Ford scandal examined in the current inquiry consists of a cell phone video that recorded an intoxicated Ford speaking in a Jamaican accent and making derogatory remarks. In response to this event, an editorial on January 22, 2014 discussed and quoted Ford denying the injury of his actions:

Ford didn't offer yet another of his now all-too-familiar, pro-forma apologies. Instead, he claimed that what he did in his personal life with his friends wasn't anyone else's business. "It's my own time," he said. "It's how I speak with some of my friends."

The staff of the *Toronto Star* explain that Ford justifies his behaviour in this event through the idea that harm is not a result of his actions. Benson (1985) refers to the process of accepting the responsibility associated with ones actions but denying the seriousness of the act as a justification. Ford believes that because he is with his friends, there is no harm being caused. Ford's friends are not offended by the behaviour; thus, they are not harmed. Ford is unable to comprehend that the personal is political. No matter the setting, situation or company, he is the mayor and his behaviour is always under scrutiny and influences those in his society.

Chapter 6: Discussion

Representing Dishonesty and Denial

Ford's actions at many points in his mayor career were deemed as newsworthy by *Toronto Star* representatives and constructed as both part of new and reoccurring scandals. The frames surrounding Ford's behaviour suggested that his character was incompetent most of the time, corrupt some of the time and a street level criminal occasionally. The designation of the data into these major themes presented a few challenges throughout the research process. This was due to the nature of social reality (Foucault, 1971) and the media's need to construct, shift and manipulate discourse (Phillip, 1997) to send newsworthy messages (Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007). The journalists in the explored context have the ability to manipulate the messages embedded in the discourse and they are in a position of power as the public is dependent on the media for information and knowledge (Ryan, 2004). The manipulation of meaning is apparent in the Ford Saga when the term 'dishonesty' is analyzed. Dishonesty is a common element among the various definitions and operationalizing for the term corruption (see Bazerman & Gina, 2012; Bigsten & Moene, 1992; Mink, Dietz, & Mink, 2000; Rogow & Lasswell, 1966) and is present among many of the events in the Ford Saga. If strictly adhering to the definitions provided in the examined literature, the assumption would be made that the implications of Ford's behaviour would overwhelmingly be attributed his corrupt nature. However, the analysis indicates that the journalists used Ford's dishonesty as an element of all three major frames examined: incompetence, corruption and criminal identity.

Corruption and incompetence are two completely different actions, concepts and intents (Jo & Rothenberg, 2011; Johnson, 1983). As well, for the purposes of the current inquiry, corruption and incompetence are distinguished from the criminal identity frame through the element of status. The *Toronto Star* reconstructs the Ford Saga events to promote dishonesty as an element of each frame. Ford's dishonesty is present in the *Toronto Star*'s corruption allegations through the emphasis of his endless lies, the absence of integrity and convention to achieve his goals, and the dishonest use of city resources. Ford's dishonest behaviour is attributed to his incompetent nature through his lack of adequate rationale when neglecting the truth, his diminished levels of intelligence to properly comprehend the consequences of his dishonesty and the false use of ignorance when finally addressing the scandals. Dishonesty is present in the discourse surrounding Ford's criminal identity when journalists emphasize the lies surrounding his street level crimes, his engagement in secretive and presumed criminal actions, and Ford's association with untrustworthy individuals.

The emphasis of the many modes of Ford's dishonesty may be important to the image of the *Toronto Star*. Vaidya (2005) explains that media representatives inflate the levels of morality and overall positive image of both the medium in general and the medium's representatives. This is accomplished through the pursuit of truth and the overall goal of deterring dishonesty. Throughout the saga, the unique relationship between Ford and the journalists of the *Toronto Star* surfaced as events in the Ford Saga included conflicts between Ford and the *Toronto Star*. Ford and journalists engaged in political battles to demonstrate who is the most dishonest. The journalists included Ford's view in the reports, but ultimately wrote from a standpoint that provides legitimacy to

journalist accounts and discredits Ford by presenting apparent fact or evidence. The journalists emphasize Ford's disregard for inclinations of moral order in their representations of Ford's reactions to strengthen the deviant frames constructed for Ford.

The representations of Ford by the journalists of the *Toronto Star* are also unreliable as they are often fabricated without proper foundations or evidence. For example, when Ford conducted a leadership shift which resulted in the demotion of females and the termination of his chief of staff, much media speculation is presented as fact. The involvement of women led to media claims of sexism on the part of Ford. However, tangible evidence to prove this conjecture is absent. Ford did not state that the reason these individuals were demoted was a result of his disdain for women, nor did the women speak to the media to confirm these claims. Similarly, journalists made the assumption that Ford's chief of staff was removed from office because Ford was using his position to eradicate those who challenge Ford's beliefs and illegitimate actions. The journalists who constructed the scandal assumed that a confrontation occurred during the exchange because security escorted Towhey out of city hall. The journalists were not present during this apparent confrontation and Ford staffers did not describe the series of events to journalists. Thus, there is no way for the journalists to know a confrontation ensued, but the inclusion of a violent element increases the newsworthiness of the event and allows for the event to be constructed as scandalous. An important element of the construction of the Ford Saga includes Ford's reaction to the scandals.

The representation of Ford's denials fits within many of the premises of Benson's (1985) as well as Benson and Simpson's (2009) white collar crime theories. This includes the maintenance of a non-criminal identity by denying the guilty mind (Benson,

1985; Sykes and Matza, 1957) and the ability to engage in criminal activity through the use of opportunity structures (Benson & Simpson, 2009). Ford is presented as attempting to maintain a non-criminal identity by denying his guilty mind. Many of Sykes and Matza's (1957) techniques of neutralization are used by Ford to justify or distance himself from his actions throughout the Ford Saga. Ford is viewed as condemning the condemners, denying the responsibility associated with his actions, and denying that injury is a result of his actions. Among Ford's rationalizations for his actions, Ford is characterised as intentionally acting incompetent when confronted with a difficult situation. Ford would rather assert that he is incompetent and was not aware of the consequences associated with his actions than be accountable. Ford acts incompetent, for example, when he admits to an occurrence and then displaces the blame onto other entities. Throughout the Ford Saga, Ford must confront his appearance in two cell phone videos (i.e., the crack cocaine video and the inebriated living room rant). He cannot deny the existence of these videos and his behaviour as physical evidence exists Ford admits that he made mistakes in both of these events and explains that the mistakes were not his fault, but a product of intoxication. This form of rationalization, according to Benson (1985) is an excuse, and fits within the definition of incompetence. Ford does not only intentionally use incompetence as a method to deny his guilty mind, but incompetence is also unintentionally presented through Ford's inability to comprehend some of the consequences associated with his actions.

Those who are within the public eye should understand that the personal is political and their actions will be scrutinized no matter the context. Ford may be having fun with friends and only consume alcohol socially, but if he is becoming intoxicated

each time he consumes alcohol, a problem is present. The media and citizens do not know how often Ford consumes alcohol. Even though he may only consume alcohol on occasion, the attention placed on the actions that are a result of his alcohol consumption makes the scandals appear to be continuously occurring. Ford's uncontrollable and erratic behaviour associated with his consumption of alcohol, even if it only occurs occasionally, impacts citizens of the city. The personal is political and becomes an impediment on the reputation of the city and its citizens as they are the ones who elected him into a position of power.

Ford's behaviour fits within many aspects of Benson and Simpsons (2009) opportunity structure. Ford has status, wealth, and an elite occupation (Doolittle, 2014) which granted him the necessary access and techniques for engaging in corrupt activities. Benson and Simpson (2009) explain that white collar criminals use their position in society to commit crimes and have the resources to carefully conceal their illegitimate attempts. Ford's position as mayor allowed him to engage in crimes of power and corruption, such as making inaccurate public statements and misusing city hall resources. Ford was able to use his money and resources to allocate a lawyer once facing deviance accusations in order to avoid social and legal persecution.

Ford did not limit himself to only engaging in power crimes and corruption. Both these types of crime have the ability to effect the prosperity and functioning of the country in which he exists. According to Benson (1985), those with little power are less likely to gain access to opportunities that allow them to effectively engage in crimes of power. Benson (1985), however, does not explain how the opportunity structure works when the crimes and societal roles are reversed. Ford engaged in crimes typically

associated with street level and the lower class citizens. Thus, Ford's power position should be considered to determine if Ford's position of power allow him to engage in non-power crimes or if it restricted opportunities.

The current inquiry reveals that Ford's position both allowed and restricted Ford's opportunities to effectively commit street level crimes. Ford was able to hire a lawyer to assist him in pursuing effective modes of coping with scandal, but was unable to carefully calculate the costs and benefits of his actions, or use his position to conceal his engagement in criminal activity. Ford's status may have created an incentive for witnesses of the crimes to come forward with information, such as monetary gains, attention and fame, or reduced responsibility for being involved in the scandals. Ford's incompetence prevented him from carefully considering his actions, or taking proper precautions to prevent implications. Although he was able to use his wealth to pay for a lawyer, Ford did not follow the advice provided to him for conducting damage control. The *Toronto Star* speculates that Ford was able to use his position to avoid arrest as others who have been involved in the criminal scandals with Ford have faced charges. The unreliable constructions of the Ford Saga by the staff of the *Toronto Star* was reinforced through representations of members of governance.

Representing Governance to Strengthen the Frames

The *Toronto Star* construction of governance perspectives related to Ford consists of Ford's character being defined as corrupt, incompetent, and criminal. These frames parallel the frames constructed explicitly by the *Toronto Star*. There are slight differences between the two sets of perceptions as some doubt, although not an overwhelming

amount, is created through the inclusion of statements by governance members who support Ford's decisions and defend his honour throughout the Saga.

The current inquiry reveals that the media depicts the powerful individuals in society as mostly disapproving of Ford and his behaviour. This representation sends a message to the public implying that Ford's peers and partners in governance have negative opinions of Ford's behaviour. Governance are constructed as believing that the only logical solution to correcting the mistakes Ford has made requires an unattainable shift in Ford's thinking and a drastic shift of power in city hall. However, the real message consumers should be understanding is that, presently, the only opinions that could be remotely accurate in the newspaper articles are those of the *Toronto Star* staff. When considering journalist perspectives, readers must also understand that the representation of journalist opinions may not be accurate either. The journalists may be neglecting their personal opinions of the event and writing from an angle that financially benefits them. This includes highlighting newsworthy facts and constructing the event as a scandalous to increase consumption of the medium. The frames created by the media are strengthened by equating media discussions with statements by individuals who are of high respectability and have an elite role in society (Chermak, 1997; Sullivan and Chermak, 2012). The *Toronto Star* journalists in the construction of the Ford Saga quote individuals who possess a significant amount of power through their involvement in governance, law enforcement, advocacy groups, or role in city hall. These perspectives need to be questioned by consumers as they are not relayed to the public directly from the source and could be misrepresented.

It is troubling to consider that when the media reports messages to the public that stakeholders wish to send, the message enters new contexts and tends to become a depiction of the original. Framing theory explains that reporters have a tendency to highlight certain aspects of an event, while disregarding others. The theory also reveals that some media representatives carefully select language to attract predictable reactions from their consumers (Entman, 1993) and influence consumer judgment of an event or social phenomenon (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). The journalists of the *Toronto Star* project their biases and constructions of events as scandals onto consumers. This could ultimately influence public discourse regarding Ford and his ability to govern. These opinions become strengthened by including what appears to be facts, such as quotations by powerful or politically affluent individuals. However, these quotations are taken from non-credible sources with vivid accounts (Sieff, 2003), taken out of context and are not included in their entirety. This allows the information to be manipulated in a way that serves the interest of the journalist. The *Toronto Star*'s framing of Ford as incompetent, corrupt, and criminal were also for the purposes of entertaining consumers.

The Presence of Power

Power and power relationships were an important consideration in the current inquiry and manifest in various forms. The current inquiry collected a large amount of data for analysis and could have collected an abundance of information from other sources as an alternative to the *Toronto Star*. This displays the overwhelming amount of media stimuli regarding Ford presented to the public. The significant coverage of the Ford Saga is found in the frequency of dates that the newspaper published stories, the follow-up in the days succeeding the event and also in the frequency of reporting on one

event in a single day. There was a range of one article to several articles published in the *Toronto Star* by various journalists when a scandal occurred. The events considered more newsworthy experienced a higher frequency of reporting than less newsworthy events.

The exploration into the framing of a political figure as incompetent is an important feature of understanding power dynamics in contemporary society. The Ford Saga and Ford's incompetence allowed for a great amount of critical humour and infotainment to prosper. The journalists were able to present the public with information about the acts of the mayor, sometimes with an element of entertainment. The entertainment stems from the repetitive deviance on the part of the mayor and also the construction of these actions as scandalous and constantly hindering. This exposure benefits the journalist as it increases consumption of their medium (Garoupa, 1999) and assists in the development of the contentious relationship between Ford and the staff of the *Toronto Star*.

The analysis of the current inquiry revealed that the *Toronto Star* and Ford have a unique and controversial relationship. Thus, the information presented to the consumers of the *Toronto Star* is overwhelmingly negative publicity for Ford. This displays the media's determination to keep the public informed on the deviant occurrences in the personal and political life of powerful figures (Antvig, 2000; Vaidya, 2005). The journalists speculate on the causes of Ford's behaviour and become crusaders against this deviance by offering viable solutions. Although Antvig (2000) and Vaidya (2005) explain that the media attempts to deter political corruption, the Ford Saga engages the media as the fighters against ignorance and senselessness in city hall. The constant focus placed on Ford by the newspaper assisted in increasing Ford's popularity and celebrity

status. Graber (2000) posits that media reporting on government institutions increases the opportunity for this institution to become part of the political discourse. More so, this constant exposure of media frames to the public pushes citizens to embrace media frames. This causes the public to interpret neutral information as fitting within pre-defined stereotypes (Entman, 1993). The media fixation on Ford allowed him to become integrated into local and global discourse and citizen use of the *Toronto Star* as one of their main sources of information increased the power held by the journalists.

Researchers would benefit from considering the amount of influence the various groups involved hold to determine power rankings. The political hierarchy should not be consulted when determining this level of influence as it is not the political figure that holds the most amount of power during political scandal; it is the media. The media has the ability to utilize their position to reach citizens across the domestic, national, and international societies in which the political figure exists. After an event is constructed by the media and accepted as a scandal by the public, the political figure must use the media to counter the negative publicity as they have limited means of reaching citizens around the globe (Husselbee & Rliot, 2002; Gurevitch & Levy, 1985). The political figure must trust that the media will not attempt to reconstruct the message they wish to send.

Ford has become an international celebrity as a result of the media communication of the numerous scandals in which he has been involved. Ford's attempt to use the media to communicate messages to the public lead to his messages being presented in a way that varied from his intents. The message Ford wished to be sent was altered through the media re-arranging and only including portions of Ford's dialogue. The media also has the last word in political debates and confrontations (Sauvageau et al.,

2006) and can ultimately portray their version of events. The media can be involved in a political battle and include the exact transcript or a partial recollection of events and then follow up with their own commentary. The current inquiry explored many aspects of the Ford discourse throughout Ford's career. These discoveries are also present in the overcoming of limitations related to case study research.

Limitations of the Current Inquiry

The limitations of the current inquiry are derived from aspects of the research design. The first limitation stems from the exploratory approach taken to understand the messages received by consumers of the Ford Saga. The current inquiry can only explore the media representations of the events in which Ford has been involved. The perceptions of the consumers of the *Toronto Star* can only be speculated upon. The inspiration for future research arises in respect to the reaction of consumers to the Ford Saga or another scandal involving politicians. The examination of comment threads associated with the online news reports should be conducted in order to understand the influence the media has on consumers. Opinions before reading the article cannot be determined from comment threads, but researchers can determine if consumer opinions are reflective of the article or if they contradict the articles. Examining comment threads can also look at how power manifests among consumers and how discourse develops and changes during conversation about scandal and crime.

The current inquiry is unable to determine the influence the media has on members of governance. The sources of information members of governance consult and the influence these sources have on opinions is important to understand as the politically elite have the ability to make important contributions to public discourse. Governance

members may be consulting inaccurate sources of information, such as the media, to gain knowledge on social phenomenon and events. These sources and their influence could lead to the implementation of unjust policies regarding crime and justice. Members who chose to implement policy that is not reflective of the realities of crime may consult accurate sources of information, but choose to project false or distorted representations of their views onto the public (Mallea, 2011). Members of governance can communicate constructions of their views that aligns with the present culture of fear to gain increased public support. This in turn reinforces the public's inaccurate view of crime and crime control (Mallea, 2011). One of the factors that may influence the public to rely on inaccurate constructions of crime is the lack of easily available scholarly literature and the overabundance of media sources.

Toronto has numerous sources of information that could have been consulted to gain insight into the Ford Saga. Choosing only the *Toronto Star* as the data source is a limitation to the current inquiry. The inquiry only examined the representations of information by one collective identity instead of considering the representations of Ford by a vast array of perspectives. The selected source had benefits to the inquiry due to the local context of the newspaper and the unique relationship between Ford and the journalists. There are, however, various newspapers that also exist locally in the city of Toronto with different political orientations, have specific ethic and cultural focuses, are smaller and more local to specific areas in the city and have less of a personal relationship with Ford. Selecting any of these newspapers could have offered different insights into the construction of Ford's character. The journalists affiliated with other newspapers vary from those associated with the *Toronto Star* as they have lived different

experiences, the newspapers may have different collective goals and objectives due to its political and cultural standing, and may target a different audience. Consulting a second newspaper for comparison could provide a wider understanding of the messages media representatives are projecting onto consumers.

The selection of cases for case study research are based on various researcher objectives. Cases are chosen for generalized to other cases or for their uniqueness (Stake, 1995). Choosing a unique case rather than ordinary case can be considered a limitation to the study because it cannot be treated as a representative of other political deviants (Crowe et al., 2011). Although this is viewed as a limitation to the current inquiry, it is not an impediment on the findings. The selection of a case that is unique, may not be beneficial statistically, but can assist in replicating previous cases, extending theory, and filling theoretical gaps (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Eisenhardt (1989) explains that case studies are a bottom up approach to producing theory and consequently, the theories produced from them are modest. The theory produced is about specific phenomenon and can be tied into broader theoretical issues (Eisenhardt, 1989). The current inquiry demonstrates how the exploration of unique cases can expand theory and address broader theoretical issues.

Implications for Future Research

The importance of the current inquiry rests within the extension of the definition of the white collar criminal and the filling in of gaps that have been left behind by previous researchers who have examined the deviant actions taken by those with political power. Sutherland (1983) defines white collar crime as “a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation” (p. 7). Ford grew

up as part of the elite class as Ford's father ensured his family experienced wealth, respectability, and status through his hard work and dedication to business and politics (Doolittle, 2014). Over the course of his career as mayor, Ford did not receive a great amount of respect. Ford lost the respect of media representatives and members of local governance. With that being said, he cannot confidently be classified as a white collar criminal. The definition of the white collar criminal should be altered to specify that the social position of the individual engaging in crime is of respectability, but not necessarily does the individual's character receive a large amount of respect.

The consideration of the expansion of the definition of a white collar criminal offered by the current inquiry would benefit those interested in further researching power crimes and white collar criminality. The purpose of the current inquiry was not to create an all-encompassing definition of the term, but to reconsider the term in the present social context. Foucault (1971) explains that trends related to meanings and social order shift over time. The present social order of contemporary society differs from when the term originally emerged and white collar criminality is currently linked to the understanding of corruption, incompetence, and criminal identities among political figures.

Part of the current inquiry focuses on the contribution the chosen method can make to the field of white collar offending and media representations. This includes the current inquiry's operationalizing and use of phenomena that have various competing definitions. Corruption, incompetence, and an underworld criminal identity are three completely different terms, yet they consist of overlapping characteristics in their use by the media. Future studies may benefit from researchers keeping an open mind when selecting which definitions they will adhere to and considering the placement of

information into the appropriate theme or frame (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This includes researchers staying true to the definition selected, but also considering variations of the information in the context in which it exists. The context at times depends on the media manipulation of definitions to fit constructions and social phenomenon into frames.

The demonstration of validity and reliability in relation to case study research in the current inquiry can assist future researchers. Case study research has been criticized due to the method's lack of scientific rigor and little basis for generalization (Crowe et al., 2011). There are very few inquiries published for academics to consult about overcoming the method's challenges and ensuring validity and reliability (Street & Ward, 2012). The current inquiry provides modes of safeguarding validity and reliability that future researchers can take into consideration. This includes understanding the weaknesses of the selected research method, carefully documenting and communicating the steps taken to complete the inquiry, and triangulation.

The current inquiry also takes an approach that varies from research that has already been conducted. The current inquiry does not concentrate on the actions and representations of employees of economically affluent corporations or those who are higher up on the political power spectrum. Instead, the current inquiry chose to focus on a political representative who exists locally to a large Canadian city. The inquiry concludes that the actions of a political figure who may not hold an enormous amount of power has the ability to influence political discourse and spark debate across the globe. The deviant actions and political scandals in which a governing figure may engage does not have to include the misuse of power for their own personal benefit to be considered a power or white collar crime. A tremendous amount of damage to a political and social society can

be a result of the powerful individual's incompetence. This incompetence can be used as an unintentional or an intentional method of evading responsibility for the consequences of their actions and displays the power of discourse.

The importance of discourse during the construction and communication of political scandal in the current inquiry is a discovery from which future scholars may benefit. This includes the construction of neutral events into scandals through the manipulation of dialogue, presenting speculation as fact and the inclusion of information from past events to make the current event appear to be more newsworthy (Chermak, 1997; Phillip, 1997; Ruigrok & Atteveldt, 2007; Sacco, 1995). Discourse is also important in the construction of the deviant being's self-concept, reaction to the media constructions, and means of coping with their involvement in scandal. This emerges in the denial of the guilty mind (Benson, 1985) and the use of techniques of neutralization (Sykes & Matza, 1957). The individual is presented as carefully selecting discourse to rid themselves of the responsibility for the harms attached to their behaviours. However, the harms associated with perceived social disruptions should be carefully considered by media consumers and researchers. The harm may not be a direct consequence of the actions of the political figure, but a result of media constructions of the event as a harmful disruption.

In order to increase the accuracy of information provided to the public, public criminologists attempt to bridge the gap between academic and public knowledge about crime and justice. The gap assists in creating a false understanding of crime phenomenon based on media constructions as citizens are often motivated to use the media as a source of information (Entman, 1993; Ryan, 2004). Consequently, the process of forming

public discourse is based on inaccurate information and differs from academic discourse. Newsmaking criminologists, such as Ruggiero (2012) explain that media discourse is based upon consumer interest, excitement, and consumption. This often leads to the media sensationalizing crime and constructing deviance in the lives of the elite as scandal.

The media has assisted in creating a culture of fear by promoting sensationalized images of crime and justice (Barak, 1988). This makes crime rates appear to be higher and offences to be more dangerous than in reality. Some groups in society benefit from the fear of crime and often reinforce the fear for their own growth and development. This includes policy makers that gain increased public support by taking a tough on crime stance (Mallea, 2011) and businesses that sell crime control as a commodity (Recuber, 2009). There are also some groups in society that are suppressed as they become stereotyped as being representations of the criminal identity or the hated “other” (Jiwani, 2002). Those who are thought to be involved in crime are socially constructed as villains who need to be eradicated from society. This results in members of the criminal justice system to be viewed by the public as heroes.

Many policy makers attempt to gain public support by using crime imagery and the manipulation of fear (Mallea, 2011). Members of academia do not have the power to influence public discourse and reconstruct crime imagery to reflect reality as they cannot gain the attention of major stakeholders in society. Policy makers are no longer willing to listen to the rationale of academics (Loader & Sparks, 2008). Members of the public are also unwilling to listen to academics as research is not sensational and exciting. Katz (1987) explains that in addition to using the media as a source of information, the public

uses the media for a moral workout. Members of the public are driven by emotion and want to learn about immoral and exciting crimes, rather than objective facts. This also applies to researcher inability to gain the attention of media representatives.

Researchers should not attempt to reach the public by attempting to disprove media fact with the promotion of true facts. Mopas and Moor (2012) suggest that because perceptions of crime and social control are emotionally charged, public criminologists would benefit from using emotion as a tactic to displace the public's fear and anger. Criminologists should explain that the fear the public is experiencing is justified due to the inaccurate media representations and responses from policy makers regarding crime and justice. Mopas and Moor (2012) suggest that criminologists expand public learning and shift public perceptions of the criminal other. The public should perceive the media and members of governance as criminal others for allowing unnecessary fear and stress to be integrated into contemporary culture. The current inquiry takes Barak's (1988) proposition of commandeering the media to direct the attention away from crime and towards real issues (i.e., race in prisons) into consideration, but ultimately makes suggestions that are more feasible for public criminologists. After exploring the information presented to the public related to the deviant actions of Ford, the current inquiry concludes that researchers and academics would benefit from changing the way they communicate their findings.

Future researchers should continue to attempt to bridge the gap between the academy and the public by building relationships with the public, governance, and media. Researchers may benefit from reducing reduce the informative role the media holds in the lives of the public. This may at first be a difficult task to complete due to present barriers,

but they can eventually be overcome. Beginning with the public, there are three suggestions that emerge from the current inquiry. Researchers may be able to start bridging the gap by making their knowledge and publications more accessible to the public. Currently, there are very few ways to search for scholarly literature aside from subscribing to costly academic journals and databases. The media is a cost efficient and easy to use method of gaining information. Academic research is a lengthy process and the results take a considerable amount of time to complete and publish. Contrarily, the media is able to present information about an event as it is happening or shortly thereafter. Researchers cannot shorten the research process without compromising the validity or reliability of the study. Researchers may be able to increase consumer interest if they are able to find a way to communicate findings of previous studies related to the topic of interest to fulfill the public's need for knowledge.

Researchers should discuss the research process publically and involve contributions from members of the public. Ruggerio (2012) recommends that researchers should involve communities affected by crime and crime control to gain support for research projects, instead of first consulting the academy or sources of funding. This provides academics with a mode of finding areas to research that is relevant to the public and provides an incentive for members of the public to be interested in academic research. Involving those affected by crime and justice fulfills Haan and Loader (2002) recommendation that researchers should work to understand the relationship between emotions, crime, and justice.

Basing the presentation of findings on the targeted audience may be a beneficial way for public criminologists to narrow the gap between academics and the public. This

includes the use of language and formatting that is suitable for members of the general public to understand. The language predominantly used by researchers is directed towards an educated demographic or those who have the time to synthesize the information published in academic journals. Members of the general public may not understand the vocabulary used in academic publications and do not have the time to read lengthy publications. The media uses simple language and presents their ideas in short written publications or filmed clips.

Members of governance are important stakeholders in Canadian society with which researchers should consider changing their relationship. The current inquiry confirms the work of Chermak (1997) who explains that the media often uses quotations from those who are in positions of power to reinforce the message the medium wishes to send. Researchers must allow members of governance to understand that the media can manipulate the messages governance members wish to send. Policy makers should address inaccurate constructions of their perceptions and should not fear the loss of public support by speaking out against inaccurate media frames. These stakeholders must also understand that they cannot rely on the media as an accurate source of information and must consult with researchers directly.

The media has the ability to influence the decision making process of policy makers (Lippmann, 1922). This results from policy makers attempting to gain support in a culture of fear (Mallea, 2011) or the reliance on inaccurate information to gain knowledge about an event or phenomenon. Researchers may be able to gain more support from members of governance by communicating that the media manipulates the presentation of events and often uses the opinions of experts who are ill informed on the

discussed issue (Mopas & Moore, 2012). This method of communication must differ from the current method as members of governance are ignoring researchers (Loader & Sparks, 2008). Policy makers and members of governance do not have time to read long research studies, thus researchers should consider presenting relevant information through the use of literature reviews, summary of facts, or meta-analyses.

The media plays a large role in contemporary society and holds a great amount of power. Researchers will face difficulty in trying to eliminate the media's influence. When researchers challenge inaccurate constructions of crime by the media, they often fear that their words will be misquoted by the media, have difficulty receiving a response from the media, or are met with hostility (Mopas & Moore, 2012). Instead of attempting to eliminate the media's influence, researchers may receive better responses by building a relationship with the media so that accurate representations of crime, offenders, and justice are integrated into media reports. Educating media representatives and providing them with exclusive information could make a difference in bridging the gap between the media and researchers, and ultimately, researchers and the public.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The current inquiry took an exploratory approach to identify the messages the media is projecting onto consumers about political deviance and scandal. The inquiry discovered that the media plays an integral role in shaping deviance on the part of a politician as scandalous. The literature on corruption explains that the construction and further reconstruction of scandals leads to the longitudinal unfolding of a grand story (Levi, 2006). Over the two year period examined in the current inquiry, the drama surrounding the actions of former Toronto mayor, Rob Ford transformed him into a celebrity in trouble. The grand story involving Ford is referred to as the Ford Saga in the current inquiry and is made up of media representations of old, new and reoccurring scandals. Much research conducted in the past, such as the study by Breit (2011), pays special attention to the implications of powerful individuals in their consideration of the transformation of political deviance and corruption into scandal. The current inquiry varies as it looks at the implications associated with the *Toronto Star's* representation of important stakeholders and their perceptions of the scandals. These stakeholders include the media, governance and the deviant individual. The inclusion of long term effects of scandals and the representation of important societal figures assist in creating a more newsworthy and credible representation of political scandals (Chermak, 1997).

The number of media reports associated with the Rob Ford Saga in the *Toronto Star* are numerous in quantity. The *Toronto Star* is only one of many newspapers that took an interest in reporting on the Ford Saga and attracted consumers from local and global societies. These consumers often rely on media frames so that they can make sense of complex phenomena (Ryan, 2004). Understanding the influence the media has on

consumers was not a focus of the current inquiry, but the messages existing in the media content was one of the main objected. The constant and long term bombardment of media representations of Ford's actions as incompetent, corrupt and criminal may have influenced understandings of Canadian politics, state power and the characteristics of citizens. The content of the articles consisted of inaccurate constructions of events and manipulation of the details associated with the events. The *Toronto Star* journalists in some articles highlighted details that did not warrant attention or discussed information associated with previous events to elevate the newsworthiness of the presented scandal. The frames constructed by the media related to Ford's character was strengthened through media representations of governance as disapproving and Ford as constantly denying his guilty mind.

The media's rights and freedoms are ingrained within the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and have increased significantly in the current Canadian context as they are not limited by censorship or physical barriers. The media's power to collect, speculate, manipulate, entertain and communicate representations of social phenomenon and political scandals cannot be decreased. Consumers of the media should overcome the barrier presented to obtain accurate information by being critical of the material they are consuming. The current inquiry encourages those who need clarity regarding crime and scandal in the Canadian context, especially regarding the Ford Saga, to question the source and the contents of the information they are consulting. Policy representatives should follow suit and educate the public on the difference between media truths and reality, instead of reinforcing the false messages. Members of academia can assist in

bridging the gap between researchers, the public, the media and governance so that there can be a major shift towards accurate representations of crime and justice.

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